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EAST ORANGE, N. J.

EDITORIAL

LOOK BACK IN CANDOR

Note: The following totally imaginary story never appeared in the totally imaginary Washington Post-Gazette, *September 11, 1856.*

Excitement at Thomas Hearing!
Judge From Dixie Takes His Stand
Nominee Plucks Many a Heartstring

Republican Senators sought unsuccessfully to learn Judge Beauregard T. Thomas's views on Slavery today. The Virginia-born jurist fended off questions by saying he was "duty-bound not to pre-judge a case now before the Supreme Court."

The much-bruited Confirmation Hearing was held amid the gathering storm of the Dred Scott Case, a suit by a Slave who claims he became a free man after living in Free Territory. It will be tested before the Supreme Court next term.

The tempest-tossed Scott Case has sundered the Nation in twain, and the colloquies at today's hearing divided along Party lines. Democrats are bent on swelling their pro-Slavery majority on the Court; they already tally six solid votes among the justices. The Southern-born Thomas is widely deemed to hold pro-Slavery views. Some Republican Senators oppose him for that reason.

At today's hearing Thomas granted them no succor. He was queried about an oration in which he quoted approvingly a statement by John C. Calhoun that "God has made the Negro an inferior being. Therefore, the Slave-owner has a property right in him under Natural Law." Thomas averred he had been speaking theoretically. When an inquisitor solicited his views on whether a Negro is a person, Judge Thomas said that to vouchsafe his meditations on this vexing question would be pre-judging a case. Asked if the people had not a right to know a Nominee's views on such rending issues, Thomas was reminded of his boyhood poverty, which he proceeded to describe, bringing tears of joy to the eyes of his Patrons.

BEASTS OF THE BALTIC
Alexander Cockburn

WHY THE CENTER HOLDS
David Corn

SEPTEMBER SONG
Edward Sorel

THE 'JAPAN 2000' CAPER
Bruce Cumings

EAST EUROPE'S PRESS LORDS
Miklós Vámos

D'SOUZA'S DISTORTIONS
Catharine R. Stimpson
Jon Wiener

FORGET HUMAN RIGHTS

OH! WHAT A LOVELY DRU WAR IN PERU

ROBIN KIRK

The imperative to fight the drug war abro attack something, even when, year after doesn't work—has become a Washingto stant. The latest theater is the Andes, wher is a new alliance between the United State Andean armies to suppress cocaine produ Military aid is already flowing to Colombia to Bolivia, where $35 million and 112 Green rets have gone to equip and train the Boli Army in infantry tactics to fight drugs.

For the Bush Administration, however, missing link is Peru. In a surprising move, bef the August recess three Congressional subcomm tees that oversee antidrug aid voted to put a te porary hold on Peru's $95 million for 1991 fourth subcommittee recommended that $50 lion be allowed under a "national security waive So far, Peru's military receives no antidrug mone (elite police units, however, have been trained by Green Berets since 1989). The reason: human rights. Between June 21 and July 14, this is just some of what happened in Peru:

§ Antiterrorism police (nicknamed "the Rambos" for their brutality) detained a 27-year-old medical student and two minors in the Lima port town of Callao. The detentions were filmed by two television crews. Within the hour, all three were dead, victims of on-the-spot executions as "suspected subversives."

§ An Amnesty International delegation visiting the department of Junín found that disappearances—a total of sixty-three for this year alone—and extrajudicial executions in 1991 are running ahead of the first six

(*Continued on Page 372*)

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ıd to her ... vers "No! ıt Seals doesn't have the ntials to give his opinion on is- ing the Lakota people ["Letters," ok-Lynn made all those assump- t bothering to make contact with f.

y editor at Sky & Sage Books and ıd, I would like to give my answers ynn's questions. She is correct in as- at Seals does not teach Native Amer- es. He has not taken courses in native give him the proper credentials to tive scholar," but I have been with after hour as he listens and talks to an people of South Dakota.

heard Dave Chief talk to him again ain about filming the pipe ceremony ut the Lakota language that was used novie *Dances With Wolves*. Cook-Lynn dismisses Dave Chief, Dave Bald Eagle ill Horn Cloud as his "Indian friends." ıre not scholars, but all three are respect- lers, teaching as they have been taught eeping the values and stories of their el- s alive through the oral tradition. Chief is lder of the Oglala tribe. English is his sec- l language. And when he speaks, he speaks only for himself but for his people and vol Looking Horse.

Chief worked as an extra in the *Wolves* ovie so he could be there to see all that was ppening on the set. No one listened to him en he asked why the feminine form of the guage was being used by some of the men. one listened to him when he told Kevin tner and company, after consulting with oking Horse and several elders, that the pe should not be smoked on camera. In- ead he was sent to a different location on the lay they shot the scene with the pipe. No one listened to him, except David Seals. Because Dave Chief has a sixth-grade education and neither reads nor writes English, he told these things to Seals, whom he respected and trusted to put his concerns onto paper.

When Seals wrote "The New Custerism" for *The Nation* [May 13], he wrote it from the solid voice that he heard from many of the traditional people on the reservations in South Dakota. It is a voice that few people have the opportunity to hear. It is a voice that one has to spend years here to become attuned to. It is a voice that is spoken only in trust. Dave Chief will tell you that you have to know a person for a full four seasons before you can form an opinion about who he is. It takes many more seasons to trust that person. Seals has lived through those seasons on the land of the Lakota people. When the elders met recently at Green Grass, where the sacred pipe of the Lakota people is kept, to discuss treaty and sovereignty issues, Seals was invited into the ceremonial circle. No one questioned if David Seals was Lakota, or even Indian. *Judy Merritt*

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

Arlington, Va.

In his article on the annual anticrime debate in Congress, "The Great Crime-Bill Show of '91" [April 29], David Corn correctly underscores the failure of that body to develop a comprehensive anticrime strategy that aims at the causes of crime. But in suggesting a return to the liberal emphasis on crime reduction through better social programs and offender rehabilitation—policies that dominated the anticrime agenda through much of the 1960s and 1970s—Corn forgets that the reason that approach has fallen out of favor is simply that it didn't work. Crime rates of all types have escalated over the past thirty years, and violence against women is at an all-time high. Efforts to "rehabilitate" rapists, for example, have produced *no* reduction in the incidence of rape. In fact, 53 percent of those arrested for rape have a previous conviction for the same offense.

One of the reasons the old liberal anticrime strategy didn't work is that it failed to distinguish between crimes of economic opportunity associated with poverty and deprivation and crimes of violence associated with violent homes, violent mass media and racial, religious and gender hatred. The latter cannot be solved by addressing poverty alone. Rather, violent crime requires strong sanctions against those who commit it and prevention education to bring about a fundamental change in attitudes. This requires a blending of liberal and conservative approaches to crime control. Democrats like Senator Joseph Biden should be praised, not criticized, for attempting to find this middle ground.

Mary Ann Largen, executive director
National Network for
Victims of Sexual Assault

'HOPELESS'

Fargo, N.D.

I read with sadness Edward Sorel's "cartoon" of August 12/19. I am sure we could find twelve perverted magazine editors or truck drivers or doctors or cartoonists or any other category of people, and it proves nothing about editors, truck drivers, doctors or cartoonists. Sad, sick people exist everywhere—that should be no great surprise to Sorel. *The Nation* usually gives me hope because when I read it I know that there are still intelligent people who care about our society; but after reading that "cartoon" I feel hopeless. *Sybil Hopkins*

SOREL REPLIES

New York City

I listed only twelve cases, but "black-collar crime" is in fact rampant, underreported and covered up by the churches, who often pay the victims for their silence. I don't know if truck drivers and cartoonists commit as many sex crimes as clergymen, but I do know which profession is entrusted with the spiritual life of children. *Edward Sorel*

YOU'LL GO BLIND

Jamaica Plain, Mass.

The Nation's Lexicon Department must have been short-staffed when the editorial "Pee-Wee's Bad Trip" [Aug. 26/Sept. 2] was approved. We all know that what Paul Reubens was arrested for is called "self-stimulation." As for "self-abuse in a darkened theater"—that's watching *The McLaughlin Group* in the privacy of your own living room with the lights turned low. *Dale Borman Fink*

UP ON THE ROOF

Louisville, Ky.

My girlfriend just told me to leave. I'm sitting outside on our kitchen roof (the doghouse) here in Louisville. And it's hot as hell up here. I've thought about this letter for a long time now.

My dad started getting *The Nation* in 1988, along with some other controversial publications. That was the year I went to college, and many times he sent me Xeroxed articles, mostly from your newspaper. I knew nothing of *The Nation*, and up to then my father had had no connections with any news sources other than the usual media. I don't know what prompted him to start exploring. He can write you all a letter about that. I am here to tell you about the impact *The Nation* has had on our lives.

My dad has changed from a man somewhat imprisoned by himself and his sphere of relations and responsibilities into a man of the world, shackled to history but with an overview and a position. And like most things in my dad's life, it has not come easy. A gift bearing the burden of responsibility. He has passed the burden down to me.

Not to say that your newspaper has been solely responsible for this growth in his or my life, but it has been an important attribute. When running against the tide of fear, indifference and loss, knowing you have comrades is especially good. And once one can look beyond self out into the world, he or she would be wise to take along a subscription to *The Nation*. In your pages, as in my heart, there is faith, belief in good and bad, and a desire for betterment.

Also, if where I am now becomes my regular resting place, old issues might be crumpled up and used for padding. Beat the devil.

J. Britt Walford

The Nation welcomes letters—typed, double spaced and no longer than 300 words, please. Letters may be edited for reasons of space.

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CONTENTS.

Volume 253, Number 10

LETTERS
358

EDITORIALS
357 Look Back in Candor
359 Soviet Voices *Katrina vanden Heuvel*
361 The Forgotten *Irwin Tang*

COLUMNS
361 The Iowa Derby *Calvin Trillin*
362 Beat the Devil *Alexander Cockburn*
364 Beltway Bandits *David Corn*
365 September Song *Edward Sorel*

ARTICLES
357 Forget Human Rights: Oh! What a Lovely Drug War in Peru *Robin Kirk*
366 The America That Can Say Yo!: C.I.A.'s *Japan 2000* Caper *Bruce Cumings*
368 Capitalist Takeover: Eastern Europe's New Press Lords *Miklós Vámos*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
378 D'Souza: Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus *Catharine R. Stimpson*
384 What Happened at Harvard *Jon Wiener*

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EDITORIALS.

Soviet Voices

In the rushing tide of events in the Soviet Union the signposts of history get swept away. We asked Nation *editor at large Katrina vanden Heuvel to provide an analysis of some significant but neglected documents of Soviet opinion.*

Lost in the media coverage of the almost comically bungled coup against Mikhail Gorbachev on August 19 was the actual program being proposed by the coup makers. Stated succinctly, the coup program warned that "a mortal danger has come to loom large over our great Motherland." It created a Committee for the State of Emergency "to restore law and order straight away, end bloodshed, declare a war without mercy on the criminal world and eradicate shameful phenomena discrediting our society."

The impression has been left that the failed coup was a deed done by a small group of men in charge of a few repressive institutions—namely, the Communist Party apparatus, the K.G.B. and the military. There is considerable evidence, however, that the extraordinary program, although not the coup itself, had—and probably retains—support among the general population and a sizable segment of the intelligentsia.

Not only have public opinion polls revealed support for nondemocratic solutions—the "iron hand" as Russians say—but in the past year many public manifestoes and appeals by individuals, institutions and political movements calling for an end to democratization and a restoration of authoritarian rule have appeared. Indeed, Vladimir Zhirinovsky of the so-called Liberal-Democratic Party ran for President

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of Russia in this past June's election on a platform similar to the coup program. He came in third, receiving just over 6 million votes.

What follows are some examples, provided by Professor Yitzhak Brudny of Yale University, of what might be called antidemocratic manifestoes, similar in tone and spirit to the manifesto issued on the morning of August 19. Although they represent a common point of view, the statements were published in newspapers representing different segments of the Soviet establishment. *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, for example, is the newspaper of the anti-reform wing of the Communist Party. *Literaturnaya Rossiya* is the newspaper of the Russian Writers Union, which includes Valentin Rasputin and Vasily Belov, considered by many to be two of Russia's best contemporary writers. The manifesto in the *Krasnoyarskaya Gazeta*, a large provincial-party newspaper, shows that the coup's ideology had support in the Russian hinterlands. *Edinstvo* is the anti-independence Russian-minority newspaper in Latvia.

It is worth emphasizing that one of the most important manifestoes excerpted below—"Appeal to the People," published in *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, which has a circulation of 1.3 million—was signed by Aleksandr Tizyakov and Vasily Staroduptsev, two members of the gang of eight that made the coup. Tizyakov and another coup leader, Oleg Baklanov, also signed an earlier manifesto, "With Hope and Faith." They were joined by the second most important military figure in the coup, Gen. Valentin Varennikov, and fifty prominent members of Russia's scientific and intellectual elite, including the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church and several Nobel Prize winners.

The documents excerpted below should caution us against the view that popular opinion overwhelmingly favors a democratic outcome in Russia. Although the institutions that supported the coup may be discredited, the deep-seated malaise that gave the reactionaries encouragement still exists. If it is as grim a Soviet winter as predicted, and the transition to a market economy is horribly painful, authoritarian—not democratic—attitudes are likely to prevail.

With Hope and Faith

To Comrade Gorbachev,

Having weighed all the factors, we turn to you, as the nation's honored leader, with the demand that you halt the chaos and prevent the disintegration of the state. . . . If constitutional forms of influence on the separatists, criminal wheeler-dealers and bellicose formations that are continuing to shed the people's blood . . . prove ineffective, we propose that you institute a state of emergency and presidential rule in zones of major conflict. —*Sovetskaya Rossiya*, December 22

Awakening

The radical-democratic destruction of Russia cannot be halted by a strong system of authority alone. . . . The army and the institutions that uphold law and order will be subordinated to a structure for national salvation, which will disband all political parties and organizations in the name of the preservation of the people and the state.

—*Literaturnaya Rossiya*, January 10

No to Idiocy

The Announcement of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Patriotic Forces

Citizens of Russia!

If we adhere to the present political and economic course, the situation in the country will grow still worse, and catastrophe will be inevitable. . . . The Union of Patriotic Forces of Russia considers it necessary to announce that it opposes forcing the false Gorbachev-Yeltsin choice on the people. The departure of these two from the political arena would be tantamount to averting a national catastrophe; it would be a path toward national harmony. —*Molniya*, April

Anomaly

In the name of the sacred purpose of saving the dying Fatherland which we, as war veterans, have defended with our lives, we must establish a military government quickly and decisively . . . with the participation of competent, patriotically inclined politicians. . . .

We must detain the main culprits in the tragedy of the country before they manage to get away.

A state of emergency is to be declared throughout the U.S.S.R., with suspension of the Constitution, and all necessary measures must be taken to nip all disorder in the bud most decisively. . . .

After the population has been provided without delay with food and necessities at reasonable prices . . . and law and order reign in the country—then we can continue to speed up the social and economic development (and not the disintegration) of society. —*Edinstvo*, April 8-14

Phony Opposition

Immediate action is required to save our socialist Mother Country. . . . Gorbachev must be removed from his offices and expelled from the Communist Party as an ideological degenerate who by his actions has inflicted irreparable harm on the Party, the Mother Country and the business of socialism. An urgent convocation of a special Congress of People's Deputies is necessary; at this meeting, a Social Rescue Committee must be created from representatives of Marxist-Leninist forces of the Communist Party, the Interior Ministry and the K.G.B., with the power to make decisions. . . . The committee will eliminate the institution of the presidency, . . . remove Gorbachev and Yeltsin from all government offices, suspend the activities of all the legislative bodies of all the republics and place the higher executive organs of all the republics directly under the direction of the U.S.S.R. Cabinet of Ministers. The committee will declare a state of emergency in the country, prohibit meetings, demonstrations and strikes and organize the implementation of emergency economic measures to pull the country out of the crisis situation.

—*Krasnoyarskaya Gazeta*, June 11

Appeal to the People

Dear Residents of the Russian Republic! Citizens of the U.S.S.R.! Compatriots!

An enormous, unprecedented misfortune has befallen us. Our homeland and country, a great state that was given into

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our care by history . . . is perishing, breaking up and being plunged into darkness and nonexistence. And this ruination is taking place with our silence, connivance and consent. . . . Let us wake up. . . . Let us say "No!" to the destroyers and usurpers.

We are beginning a nationwide movement, calling into our ranks those who have recognized the terrible misfortune that has befallen the country. . . . Let us unite to stop the chain reaction of the ruinous disintegration of the state, the economy and the individual. —*Sovetskaya Rossiya*, July 23

KATRINA VANDEN HEUVEL

The Forgotten

Throughout Africa 30 million people are at serious risk of starvation from a famine more severe than the one of 1984-85, which claimed the lives of more than 2 million Ethiopians. The six countries hardest hit by the famine—Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Liberia, Mozambique and Angola—have been embroiled in devastating civil wars that have disrupted both the growing and the distribution of food. Some countries, primarily those of the Horn of Africa, have also been suffering from drought.

According to the latest United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization report on Africa, the total food deficit stands at 5.2 million metric tons. Only 1.8 million tons have been delivered to the continent by donor nations and relief organizations. Another 2.1 million tons have been pledged but not delivered. The greatest obstacle to feeding the hungry remains the lack of adequate food transport within the afflicted countries, preventing delivery of badly needed food to inland areas, especially in Sudan and Ethiopia. Some inland refugee camps are reporting death rates of sixty per day, according to Sharon Pauling, policy analyst for Bread for the World.

In May U.N. Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar reported that only about $900 million worth of emergency food and food transport aid were needed to cover Africa's needs. Despite its evident influence at the U.N., the U.S. government has not rallied the countries of the world to raise this relatively small sum, less than the cost of one day of the Persian Gulf war. In fact, the United States has not even kept its own promises to the continent, having contributed only about half the food it promised to the Horn of Africa late last year, according to Pauling. And the amount of U.S. aid for the inland transport of food for all of Africa is less than that given to Iraq's Kurdish refugees.

Media coverage during the 1984-85 famine prompted a public outpouring of sympathy and aid. This time, media coverage is sparse. According to Steve Askin, who recently analyzed famine coverage for Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), "The newspapers in America could run a story about the famine every day using wire stories from A.P. or Reuters, but decisions are being made that this is not a story." Indeed, *The New York Times*, in most articles this year, mentions the famine only in the context of civil wars and the misuse of food aid, not as an important issue in itself. Network evening news programs are not broadcasting regularly from famine-stricken Africa, as they did in 1984-85.

Relief organizations report that the American public is now feeling pangs of "donor fatigue," in large part coming from the false belief that Africa is eternally cursed by a cycle of poverty despite any amount of relief and development aid. But Africa has made great progress in recent years. According to the U.N. Children's Fund, the infant mortality rate in Africa has dropped 41 percent since 1960, and the number of Africans with access to clean water has increased by 60 percent since 1980. Furthermore, the wave of democratic reform washing over the continent and the recent ending of civil wars in Angola, Namibia and Ethiopia will eliminate some of the leading causes of famine—totalitarian rule and civil violence.

Although the future holds promise, Africans must still grapple with the bleak present. Thousands die each day while more than enough food and supplies to end the famine sit unused around the world. The weak American response to this year's most preventable tragedy cannot be attributed entirely to donor fatigue and lack of media coverage. An uncaring and racist U.S. government must take the responsibility for making the suffering of tens of millions of black Africans an official nonissue.

These days the danger of famine in the Soviet Union occupies Washington's fickle attention. In frustration, Pauling remarked, "If a million people in Africa die, it's no big deal to Americans and American policy-makers. If a million people had died in Europe, we'd be devastated." In Africa this year the million mark may already have been passed. Send donations to:

African Relief
U.S. Committee for Unicef
333 East 38th Street
New York, NY 10016

CARE
African Relief Fund
660 First Avenue
New York, NY 10016

American Red Cross
P.O. Box 37243
Washington, DC 20013

Oxfam America
Horn of Africa Relief Fund
115 Broadway
Boston, MA 02116

IRWIN TANG

Irwin Tang, a Nation *intern, is a student at Texas A&M University and a Unicef volunteer.*

★

THE IOWA DERBY

There's Clinton and Wilder and Kerrey and Brown
And Harkin and Tsongas, of course.
So why did we grumble for so many months
This horse race was lacking a horse?
We might scratch a couple, for one is a flake
And rumor says one is a letch.
But even with fewer we've still got enough
To splatter some mud in the stretch.

Calvin Trillin

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BEAT THE DEVIL.

Beasts of the Baltic: Nous Sommes Tous . . .

The news that Lithuania is celebrating independence by exonerating all its war criminals put me in mind of *Uranus*, Claude Berri's film about collaborators, Communists and moral equivalency. It's set in a French village in 1945 and focuses on revenge and its compatibility with justice, justice and its relationship with intention. "Who's to say your ideas are better," says the fascist newspaper editor to the Communist. "Horror is horror."

The objects of revenge in *Uranus* are those who had collaborated with the Nazis. But although this is the theme there's virtually nothing in the film about what collaboration meant in practice. The activity hangs as a nebulous concept, balanced against its deplorable antonym, Communism.

The generals in Argentina and Chile would love *Uranus*. The question of justice is deferred, and the message seems to be that morality demands it be deferred indefinitely, since when all is said and done, everyone is in some way a collaborator—a familiar and almost always bogus trope. Many's the time I've heard some Jeremiah pound his bosom crying, "We all are guilty" and thought, Count me out.

The author of the novel from which the film derives is Marcel Aymé, who wrote for some Vichy weeklies during the war, including the anti-Semitic *Je Suis Partout*, a paper owned by his friend Robert Brasillach, who was executed in 1945 while Aymé campaigned heavily for his pardon.

Berri's justification for giving Aymé's moral relativism a second chance is conventional enough: "In *Uranus* there are neither monsters nor heroes. . . . On the historical chessboard *Uranus* is the story of the little guys, the pawns. The kings and queens are the ones who fuck everything up! In the film there are no kings, no queens, no bishops, not even a castle. Just pawns, just men."

This is not so far from the Sajudis justification for exonerating war criminals in Lithuania. Like Berri, the Lithuanians don't call them war criminals, just patriots, just men. After *The New York Times* reported on September 5 that the Lithuanians were clearing the slate of war criminals, the Lithuanian Prosecutor General denied the report (which was headlined "Lithuania Starts to Wipe Out Convictions for War Crimes") and insisted that the rehabbing was being done with all due diligence and excluded people who had participated in genocide, which was awfully decent of him when you come to think of it. Since 1989, when Lithuania first ran up the national flag, 35,000 people have been exonerated, and naturally the Prosecutor General isn't excluding any big fry because what he and his fellows want to do is to establish once and for all that there were Soviet butchers and Lithuanian patriots and that was the end of the story. A former investigator for the U.S. Justice Department, Efraim Zuroff, who specialized in Baltic collaborationist crimes, told the *Times* that "the Lithuanian authorities are not taking the testimony of witnesses and survivors seriously. They are ignoring evidence in order to rehabilitate people they consider to be Lithuanian patriots." The present top Nazi-hunter at the Justice Department, Neal Sher, also sounded concerned about reborn Lithuania's insouciance. Rabbi Marvin Hier of the Simon Wiesenthal Center says the buildings holding the archives of the postwar collaboration trials are off-limits in Free Lithuania. Previously, he said, his center could get information from them via Lithuanian Jews, who had ready access.

Go West, Old Beast

The irony here, presumably one that would have been appreciated by Aymé, is that after the war the United States was opening its arms to war criminals, in a program conceived in part by that great liberal icon, George Kennan. Allan Ryan, formerly the director of the Justice Department's war criminal investigation unit, has said that in the immediate postwar years about 10,000 Nazi war criminals came to the United States from Eastern Europe. And to think that my native land of Ireland used to be considered a great haven. Some, like the Croat war criminal and former Minister of the Interior Andrija Artukovic (the subject of a gentle elegy in *The Wall Street Journal* for June 24), did make their way to Ireland, courtesy of the Franciscan order, but only as a staging post to the land of the free.

In 1950, so Christopher Simpson reports in his book *Blowback*, the U.S. Displaced Persons Commissioner managed to insure that the Baltic SS was redefined as in no way "a movement hostile to the United States." This opened the doors, and the SS vets—often afforded free passage, food and funds—came pouring in. The assisting agency was the United Lithuanian Relief Fund (BALF), which was closely linked to the nationalist extremists in the Lithuanian Activist Front. According to Simpson, the largest single group of alleged war criminals now awaiting deportation from the United States are Lithuanian veterans of the SS who came into this country with the assistance of BALF.

Of course Lithuanians would have us believe that their interest is in exonerating only those wrongfully tried and punished by Stalin's agents—another example of the ease with which you can accuse the *ci-devant* Soviet Union of any crime. The trials of Lithuanian collaborators took place during Stalin's rule, therefore by definition they must have been cruel and wrong, just as Stalin was. Nothing else by way of evidence is required, the inverse of a vision of the Soviet Union where all mistakes can be laid to Stalin (thereby getting everyone else off the hook). Here no action can be deemed mistaken or bad so long as it can be explained as countering something Stalin did.

Recollections of a Red Army Man

A man worth listening to on such matters is the historian Moshe Lewin, author of original and prophetic works on the Soviet Union, and a Red Army soldier based in Lithuania after the war. From the University of Pennsylvania, he told my colleague JoAnn Wypijewski, "The rehabilitation has nothing to do with what the Soviets did or did not do. It has to do with the phenomenon of Lithuanian nationalists trying to recover their past and to restore pre-1939 conceptions." Lewin said that since the rise of the Sajudis movement the terms in which the past is discussed have begun to frighten

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Jews, many of whom have left the country, as Lithuanian nationalists "try to present whitewashed history, saying Jews were Soviet secret police and so on."

Whitewash is certainly needed by the bucketful. The ferocity of the Lithuanian killing squads impressed their German sponsors, who judged this dirty work to be "beneath the dignity" of the German soldier. (Rabbi Hier says that before the war there were 225,000 Jews in Lithuania; after it, only a few thousand.) Lewin described how upon returning to Lithuania after the war his military unit camped on a beautiful spot in the hilly countryside outside Vilnius. Later they found they had been camping on a mass grave of 100,000 Jews killed by special units of Lithuanian collaborators in 1942-43. Lewin began to gather accounts from survivors. The victims had been rounded up from all over Lithuania. One of Lewin's cousins had been among the condemned. Feigning death amid the corpses, she later made her escape to the Vilnius ghetto (itself liquidated in 1943) and reported what had happened, and how Lithuanians had been the killers.

Lewin had a friend who served in the N.K.V.D., equivalent at that time of the K.G.B., as an investigator after the war. He heard much from this fellow about the process of punishment of collaborators: "These guys [the accused] were not treated kindly. They were forced to confess. But these were bloody murderers. A collaborator is someone who sold people out, who gave his friends away; people who did it willingly. Someone who collaborated under menace, that's a different story; the petty collaboration, that doesn't interest me here. I'm talking about officials, secret policemen, killers.

"What's going on now is the phenomenon of recovering an ugly past. Even in Russia—restoring St. Petersburg. St. Petersburg was built on the bones of masses of people! Stalin liked Peter the Great for exactly that reason." (Lewin's friend was later kicked out of the N.K.V.D.—"police work was not for him"—and became a teacher, a pedagogue, winning the Lenin Prize for his pains.) Of the Baltic leadership Lewin said, "They are fascists, period. They lived in a refrigerator and kept themselves wholesome all these years. Let them go. Georgia too is run by a fascist now but a more interesting one. Let him go too; go into the refrigerator. The Moldavians I would also let go." I wish we had Lewin here in *The Nation* writing about the great upheavals in the Soviet Union. It's predictable that the corporate press would never turn to someone with his experience, knowledge and independent-minded view of the Soviet Union's passage through the century. This corporate press has always drawn on the same tiny pool of fatheads. But what of *The Nation*? Even Boris Kagarlitsky's absorbing remarks last week had to be a crimped lozenge of prose, to go with all the other lozenges from all the usual suspects giving us Big Name commentary on Communism's downfall.

It should not be forgotten that the Russians also used former Nazi collaborators when it suited their purpose. They were also brutal to the people of the Baltic States and Poland before the Nazi invasion. The N.K.V.D. deported 35,000 to 50,000 Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians to Siberia between 1940 and 1941 (and similarly deported a million Poles to labor camps there). But while the Russians may have been a bit overzealous in their prosecutions of collaborators after the war, it is also necessary to remember that not too much later the United States was mobilizing Nazi collaborators in assassination squads in the Baltic States. The strategy of using indigenous groups to kill foreign officials was begun during World War II, according to Simpson, when the O.S.S. supplied thousands of pistols to partisans in France and Yugoslavia specifically for assassinating collaborators and German officials. (No doubt some of this hardware ended up being used in France in a manner most distasteful to Aymé.) By 1951 the C.I.A.'s chief of covert operations, Frank Wisner—who developed paranoid delusions, ultimately killing himself—estimated, according to Simpson, that "some 35,000 Soviet police troops and Communist Party cadres had been eliminated by guerrillas connected with the Nazi collaborationist OUN/UPA in the Ukraine since the end of the war, and that does not include casualties from other insurgencies in Lithuania and the Muslim regions of the USSR that were also receiving aid from the United States and Britain."

Equivalency Revisited

So let us circle back to moral equivalency and what the fascist said to the Communist in *Uranus*. Explaining why Jews would have disproportionately favored the Communists in Eastern Europe, Moshe Lewin said, "Jews like anyone who is not instituting pogroms against them. When the Lithuanians came in there were pogroms. When the Latvians, the Estonians, the Ukrainians, came in there were pogroms. When the Poles came in there were pogroms. When the Soviets came in there were not pogroms. Under Stalinism the net was cast very widely, and arbitrarily. It didn't involve nationalities as a matter of course. Stalinism was a microbe that killed anything in its path, but here is the difference. If I were a Jew in Lithuania during the war, I would have been killed. If I were a Jew in Germany, I would have been killed. In the Soviet Union, I might have been killed, but I joined the Red Army, I was a citizen, I didn't get caught in the net. In the Soviet Union Jews were citizens; by definition they were not condemned to die."

Footnote From an Absolutist

"Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, recalling his days as a guerrilla commander, said yesterday that Jews were justified in using terrorism to win statehood, but that Palestinians are not. 'Personal terrorism is a way of fighting that is acceptable under certain conditions and by certain movements,' said Shamir.

"The Jews, stateless and persecuted, had no choice, he said. But the Palestinians are 'fighting for land that is not theirs. This is the land of the people of Israel.'

"Shamir was interviewed by army radio on the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Lehi, the underground group in which Shamir fought British rule in Palestine in the 1940s."

—*A.P. dispatch,* San Francisco Chronicle, *September 5*

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BELTWAY BANDITS.

DAVID CORN

■ Should Old Paid Agents Be Forgot

Judge Clarence Thomas sure isn't very observant. Asked during the confirmation hearings about his relationship with J.A. Parker, a black conservative who was a registered agent for South Africa in the 1980s, Thomas claimed that even though he was a good pal of Parker and sat on the advisory board of a journal Parker edited, the *Lincoln Review*, he did not realize Parker was serving Pretoria until he read recent news accounts.

This is hard to swallow. *Newsday* quoted two sources who said that at a 1986 Equal Employment Opportunity Commission staff meeting Thomas discussed Parker's ties to South Africa. The year before, Parker and William Keyes, a *Review* editor, were identified in the *Review* as the principals of a firm advising South Africa. In 1987, according to Justice Department records, Thomas attended a reception for Pretoria's Ambassador to the United States staged by Parker's firm. Thomas was scheduled to participate in a 1987 legislative strategy session of Black PAC, a group run by Parker and Keyes. So, the E.E.O.C. chair was to meet with paid agents of South Africa to discuss how to influence Congress when imposing sanctions against Pretoria was a hot issue. To distance himself from Parker, Thomas now says he strongly advocated divestment as a trustee of Holy Cross College, "contrary to a position that [the board] might take." The Rev. John Brooks, the school's president, says there was no significant board opposition to Brooks's recommendation for divestment and that he does not recall Thomas or anyone else taking—or needing to take—a strong stand.

■ The Center Cannot But Hold

It is periodically useful to check the source of succor for the Democratic establishment. When the Center for National Policy, a think tank associated with middle-of-the-road Democrats, holds its annual fundraiser next month, much of the money will come from lobbyists for special corporate interests. Co-chairing the event will be Howard Paster, one of the most prominent lobbyists in town. His firm represents, among others, the American Petroleum Institute, the National Rifle Association, Northrop and Morgan Stanley. Four of the six vice chairs for the dinner are officials of A.T.&T., Southern California Edison, Philip Morris and Goldman, Sachs. Another vice chair, Denis Neill, heads a firm that massages the political system on behalf of General Electric, General Dynamics, Pakistan and the China External Trade Development Council. Each vice chair has pledged to raise or contribute $25,000 for the event, which is being staged as a tribute to Representative John Dingell.

Dingell, who does not share in the financial rewards of the evening, is a good draw for the center. As the powerful chair of the influential Energy and Commerce Committee, he has always been a favorite recipient of lobbyist attention. Thus, of the forty-one members of the dinner committee (each of whom is committed to procuring at least $7,500 for the center), thirty-four are lobbyists or corporate executives in charge of legislative affairs. Represented by this band are Monsanto, Seagrams, Ford, the Motion Pictures Association of America, American Express, Union Pacific, Chrysler, NBC, Prudential Insurance, ARCO, USX, the Tobacco Institute, Merrill, Lynch and others.

Contributing to the center and attending the tribute is yet another way—in addition to donating to Dingell's campaigns—for corporate lobbyists to win the notice of the legislator. But that is only one of several motivations for their generosity. As long as the Democrats control the House and the Senate, lobbyists will give to Democrats to insure access. And as one former Democratic fundraiser put it, referring to another objective, "For the obvious reasons, these guys want to keep the party centered."

■ The Fall of Brenneke

Congratulations to Frank Snepp, the former C.I.A. analyst-turned-journalist, for debunking Richard Brenneke in *The Village Voice*. Brenneke, a self-proclaimed former gunrunner, asserted he was personally involved in the alleged October Surprise deal and that he possessed knowledge of George Bush's own role in the scheme. He has been a wide-ranging source for many journalists—including Snepp, when he was a consultant for ABC News covering Iran/*contra*-related subjects—and recently was peddling all his tales of derring-do to publishers. Snepp, given access to Brenneke's credit card records, shows that in October of 1980, when Brenneke claimed to have been at a Paris meeting with William Casey, Donald Gregg and Iranians, he was actually in the states of Washington and Oregon, departing a motel, having his car washed and dining at Mazzi's Restaurant. Snepp notes that Brenneke has certainly engaged in some intrigues, so not everything he has ever said is bull. But his credibility on the October Surprise is in tatters, and one can only wonder about a fellow who spins such a tale and then hands someone else files that prove him a liar. While some opponents of the October Surprise investigations may exploit the exposé of Brenneke, he is certainly not the sole source of October Surprise allegations. Congressional investigators should apply the same scrutiny to the prime suspects in the caper.

■ The More Things Change . . .

Boris Yeltsin's recent call for an end to underground nuclear testing elicited a paltry reply from the Bush Administration. Ceasing nuclear tests will "help destroy nuclear weapons on earth," the Russian President said. "This is our position of principle." In response, Pete Williams of the Pentagon muttered the standard line that the United States would keep testing as long as it maintained a nuclear arsenal. Yeltsin, whose republic will eventually be the sole repository of Soviet nuclear missiles, also criticized the proposed START treaty for not cutting enough nuclear weapons and called for further, deeper reductions. Those remarks, so far, have prompted no public comment from the Administration.

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September Song

EDWARD SOREL

I REMEMBER WHERE I WAS THE NIGHT ELECTION RETURNS CAME IN MAKING EISENHOWER PRESIDENT... THAT WAS THE NIGHT I GOT LAID FOR THE FIRST TIME
I REMEMBER WHERE I WAS DURING THE MISSILE CRISIS... THAT WAS THE WEEK I WENT TO A SWINGERS COLONY UPSTATE... I'LL NEVER FORGET THAT!
I'LL ALWAYS REMEMBER THE NIGHT LBJ ANNOUNCED HE WAS NOT GOING TO RUN... THAT WAS THE TIME I MET LOIS. WHAT A NIGHT!
AND HOW COULD I FORGET THE NIGHT NIXON RESIGNED?... THAT WAS THE NIGHT LINDA AND I DID IT SIX TIMES!
I CAN'T REMEMBER WHERE I WAS WHEN THE RUSSIAN COUP TOOK PLACE...
...BUT I WAS PROBABLY WATCHING TELEVISION.
ES

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ARTICLES.

THE AMERICA THAT CAN SAY YO!

C.I.A.'s *Japan 2000* Caper

BRUCE CUMINGS

The Central Intelligence Agency colonized large parts of the Rochester Institute of Technology, according to newspaper accounts, getting in return for its consulting fees the R.I.T. president, Richard Rose (who takes his sabbaticals at C.I.A. headquarters in Langley, Virginia), the design department (which blueprinted new ways to conceal listening devices in chairs) and a bulky report titled *Japan 2000*, which was "prepared" by Rose's executive assistant, Andrew Dougherty, with a "foreword" by Rose. Various R.I.T. deans and professors, corporate gunslingers, Japan hands and ersatz pundits contributed to it. I have read *Japan 2000*, whose contents caused a furor in Japan but received too little attention in this country (R.I.T. has decided not to publish it). At a time when some in Congress are calling for a re-examination of the role of the C.I.A., it is instructive to look at just what our tax dollars produced after sloshing through the $35 billion black hole in the national budget that sustains our intelligence community.

Readers untutored in the no-value-for-money crowd at Langley might hope to learn the innermost thoughts of Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, or the gleanings of geishas as they host Mitsubishi muckamucks, or why the Lexus sedan is chamber-music quiet at highway speed. Perhaps *Japan 2000* was intended to be the nervy C.I.A. riposte to Shintaro Ishihara's *The Japan That Can Say No* (described in the report as "embarrassingly frank," although "not well thought out"). Instead, our money bought a self-described "treatise" that unearths a Sino-Japanese War that happened in 1905, a Hitler who rose to power in 1939 and a Japanese Ministry of Education that censors "all history books." The correct answers are 1894-95, 1933 and a Ministry of Education that reviews school textbooks, not "all history books." We are warned that Japan expects its annual growth rate of 20 percent to continue indefinitely. Japan has never had an annual growth rate of 20 percent, and its projection for next year is 3.6 percent.

Our C.I.A. treatise is predictably well researched. When you want the source for the allegation that Japan is now busily revising the entire history of World War II so as to blame Pearl Harbor on U.S. imperialism, you turn to the footnote, which reads, in full, "??" (this footnote is one of the few accuracies in the report; no such rewriting of history is taking place). The Japanese syllabary called *katakana* is said to be a "form of Japanese writing using the english [*sic*] alphabet." Yo, Mr. Rose! Your name looks something like this in *katakana*: ロス. Does that look like English to you?

Japan 2000 ought to be titled *Ethnocentrism 1900*, since it wishes to convince us a century later that Kipling's "East is East" dictum was right—they really are different from us, those Japanese. We go around the world installing democracies and protecting the individual, the report opines, as part of "the moral/ethical/philosophical history of Western society [which] stretches almost seamlessly over the ages." Our noblesse oblige goes back, in fact, to "the code of Hammurabi," defined as "a constant blending of Judeo [*sic*] and Christian systems." (Babylonian King Hammurabi lived almost two millenniums before Christ, his "code" wasn't found until 1901 and his punishments were cruel and unusual, especially for transgressions against the family, Japan's hallowed institution. But he did believe in private property.) Thus have arisen the West's "universal truths," which Japan doesn't believe in.

If Japan's persistent trajectory is onward and upward, Japan 2000*'s persistent trajectory is into the gutter.*

What *do* they believe in, then? Well, nothing really, when you get right down to it, except aggrandizing themselves at the expense of everyone else. These people get by with disgusting non-Western concepts like *gaman*, defined as "you have an itch but don't scratch it." In the glossary, however, *gaman* is said to be a "cultural force that causes the Japanese to persevere and endure indefinitely at high energy levels." So which are they, laid-back type-Bs who itch but don't scratch or workaholic type-As? The Japanese also traduce the West by "withholding facts pertaining to the situation at hand" (Robert "Bud" McFarlane of Iran/*contra* fame was a consultant on this project), by "persistent smallmindedness" and by "a tendency to think in terms of absolute stereotypes."

Japan 2000 is not without sidesplitting pretensions. The war of the worlds today is between "two OPERATIVE [*sic*] global economic models": the "Western paradigm" and the "**Japan Paradigm**." With "global paradigm shifts" under way, it is incumbent upon us to know the "operational forces and principles which would permit *conjecture* [*sic*] about the future." Does this hint at a "Conjecture Paradigm" yet to come from R.I.T.—perhaps based on "Henry Boettinger's now famous edict, 'There are no facts about the future' "? That is, in the absence of facts, we had better base ourselves on conjecture? Too bad Dougherty didn't read Nietzsche instead of Boettinger, who could have told him there aren't any facts about the past, either, or the present for that matter—only interpretations.

Bruce Cumings is professor of East Asian and International History at the University of Chicago and the author of The Origins of the Korean War *and the forthcoming* War and Television.

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Japan 2000 gives us auto-cannibalism and stupefying non sequiturs: "Asia is now feeding on Asia and Japan is in control. Exclusivity tends to characterize Japanese economic ties with nations." Whaaat? We get the interesting philosophical conundrum of how that which never changes . . . changes: "Monolithic mainstream Japan . . . is increasingly unchanging and probably unchangeable."

If Japan's persistent trajectory is onward and upward, *Japan 2000*'s persistent trajectory is into the gutter. Assuring the reader of the care taken "to avoid harsh stereotypes and stereotyping" (not wishing to mimic evil Japan), the report deems the Japanese "creatures of an ageless, amoral, manipulative and controlling culture . . . suited only to this race, in this place." Which "creature" do they most resemble, you might ask. Well, the Japanese get along "as does the lamprey eel, living on the strength of others." The lamprey eel will not stop sucking the lifeblood of the rest of us, this "treatise" implies, until it has devoured the entire world.

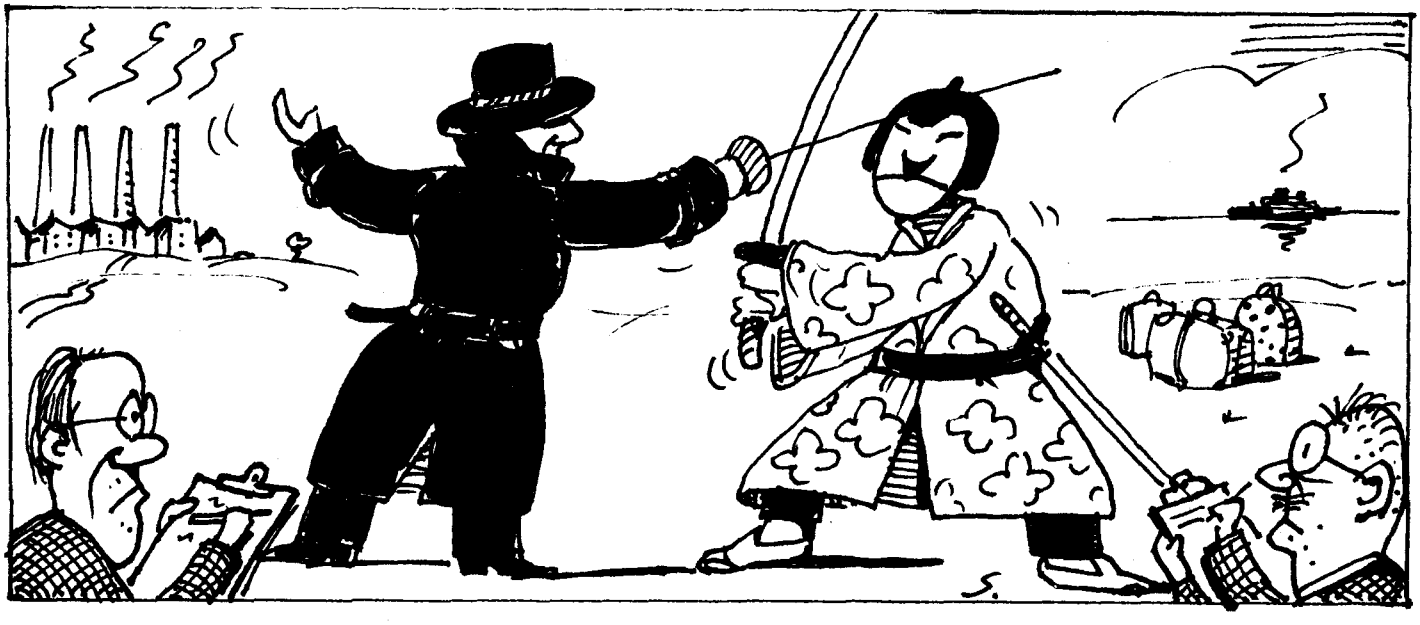
Looking for a new enemy in the wake of the Soviet collapse, with Saddam licking his wounds in Baghdad, the authors are anxious to convince their C.I.A. benefactors that Japan's unceasing drive for world domination is a matter of the highest national security. Japan is already preparing "an economic sneak attack, from which the U.S. may not recover," and Japanese finance has gone so far as to create "monstrous pools of anonymous capital," flooding the world economy to the gills—thanks to the twelve largest banks in the world being Japanese (wrong again; only the top six are Japanese).

But not to worry. With the enemy at the gates, American heroes will sally forth. In the conclusion the academic superpatriots liken themselves to the Norman Schwarzkopfs of yesteryear: "In 1776, a brave American patriot took it upon himself to warn the sleeping colonists that an invasion of our shores had begun. . . . Two hundred years later, another type of attack had begun, launched by a different adversary. . . . *Japan 2000* should provide notice that 'the rising sun' is coming—the attach [*sic*] has begun." But hey, if Paul Revere's clarion call won't work, how about another "Sputnik"? Whether it's the redcoats, the reds or the lampreys, they're coming. The point is, the Education President ought to spend more dough on education—a suggestion that uncannily fixes upon R.I.T.'s sector of the economy.

Of course, some might think it is America that has dominated the world, and maybe someone else ought to have a crack at it. But to the *Japan 2000* crowd, Americans are moral people, unlike the amoral-cum-immoral Japanese, and thus have a right to run the world. Americans "perceive themselves as morally responsible for spreading democracy around the world" and, furthermore, wring their hands "over issues of conscience and individual rights at home." And so it was that our erstwhile C.I.A. consultants from academe felt the twinge of conscience, however belatedly, and either dissociated themselves from the report (for example, Princeton political scientist Kent Calder) or defended their involvement as part of one's civic duty (as did University of California at San Diego's Chalmers Johnson). Johnson and Calder are two of the bright lights in the Japan field; I see no evidence the authors of the report paid any heed to them.

For those of you with a yen for 172 pages of mindless hype, artless drivel, shameless racism and fathomless idiocy, I highly recommend *Japan 2000*. If you put ten high school sophomores together with ten Alvin Tofflers (the authors think he's a genius), you might be able to match the drivel, racism and idiocy of *Japan 2000*. But not the hype: *Japan 2000* is first and foremost a text for those outside the beltway clamoring to get inside. The dead giveaway is the list of twelve "wild cards" that might intervene to contradict the report's "conjectures." Number one is "global financial crisis" and number two is "Korean Nuclear Weapons." That locates *Japan 2000* with the precision of carbon dating: It was completed in February 1991, when the so-called intelligence community was up in arms over "the next renegade state," North Korea. By now Kim Il Sung has removed himself from the C.I.A.'s cross hairs, however momentarily, since he agreed to international inspection of a nuclear reactor.

Yo, taxpayer! Whaddaya expect for $35 billion—Lafcadio Hearn? Or is this what the C.I.A. gets for hiring academics



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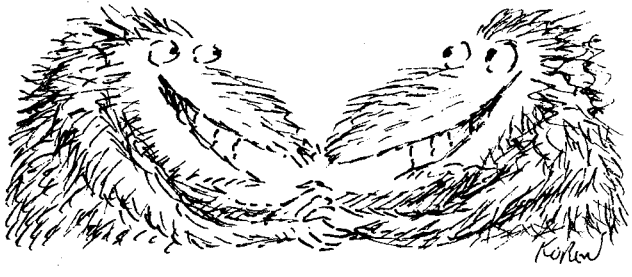

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who categorize universities as "media links"? Yo, Mr. Ishihara! With this C.I.A. in charge, you got nothing to worry about. □

CAPITALIST TAKEOVER

Eastern Europe's New Press Lords

MIKLÓS VÁMOS

Budapest

I had got used to the idea that the foreign papers I worked for were all taken over by Robert Maxwell or Rupert Murdoch, from the *New Haven Register* to *The Jerusalem Post*. The only exception was *The European*—since it was always Maxwell's. And *The Nation*, of course. But I didn't guess that Maxwell and Murdoch would also compete for the Hungarian papers for which I have been writing. Is this contagious?

In Eastern Europe, hundreds of new newspapers started to bloom in the ruins of socialism. Hungary was the pioneer in the newspaper business. New dailies and weeklies still show up every week. This week, *three* dailies will go to the streets and fight for the favors of readers: *Esti Szo* ("Evening Words"), *Koztarsasag* ("Republic") and *Reggel* ("Morning").

It has never been so easy to start a daily or a weekly, and it has never been so easy to lose one. The incompetence of the state-run postal system is the main obstacle. Even papers that are popular and could take many more subscribers are shackled by the limited capacity of the postal service. No private delivery business exists yet. One of the new dailies, *Kurir*, hired newsboys to sell the paper in the streets at traffic lights. This seems to be the only solution during this year of transition from socialism to capitalism. But a serious paper cannot be sold exclusively to impatient motorists. *Kurir* is the Hungarian version of the *New York Post*—and that's being complimentary.

Most well-established and prestigious publications are dying in Eastern Europe. Of course, only the ex-Communist papers could have been well established. They all dropped their old names, except for *Nepszabadsag* ("People's Freedom") in Hungary, which sticks to its old name and subtitle: "Socialist Daily." This socialist daily was turned by its editors into a Western-style Hungarian-West German joint-venture company; the foreign partner is the Bertelsmann Group.

The Polish *Trybuna Ludu* dropped Ludu ("of the People") and stopped being the paper of the Polish Communist Party's Politburo. The Bulgarian *Rabothnitshesko Delo* ("Workers' Affair") was renamed *Duma* ("Word"). The Romanian *Scinteia Poporului* ("Spark of the People") first dropped "of the People," then changed its name to *Adovarul* ("Truth"). All the socialist papers publicized for many years the famous Marxist slogan: "Workers of the world, unite!" None of them adhere to this idea any longer. The new slogan should be: "Capitalists of the world, invest (in our paper)!"

Miklós Vámos writes frequently for The Nation *from Hungary.*

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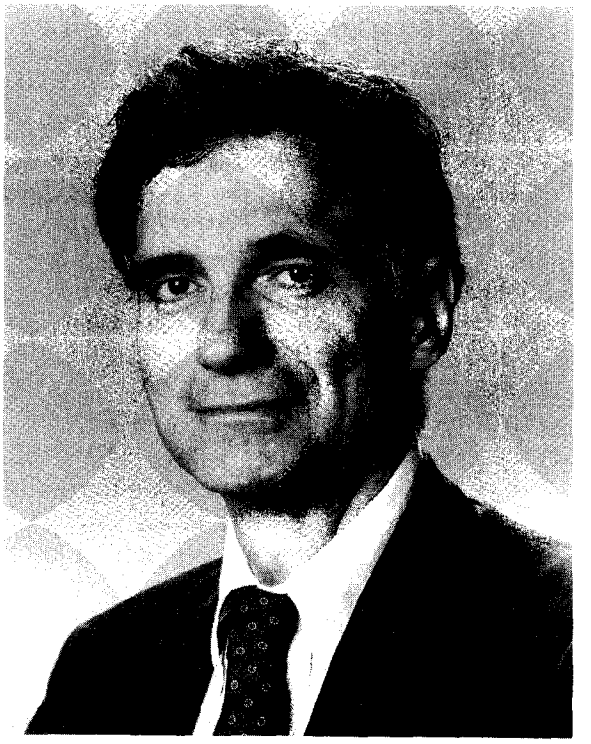
BEAT BUSH

DRAFT RALPH



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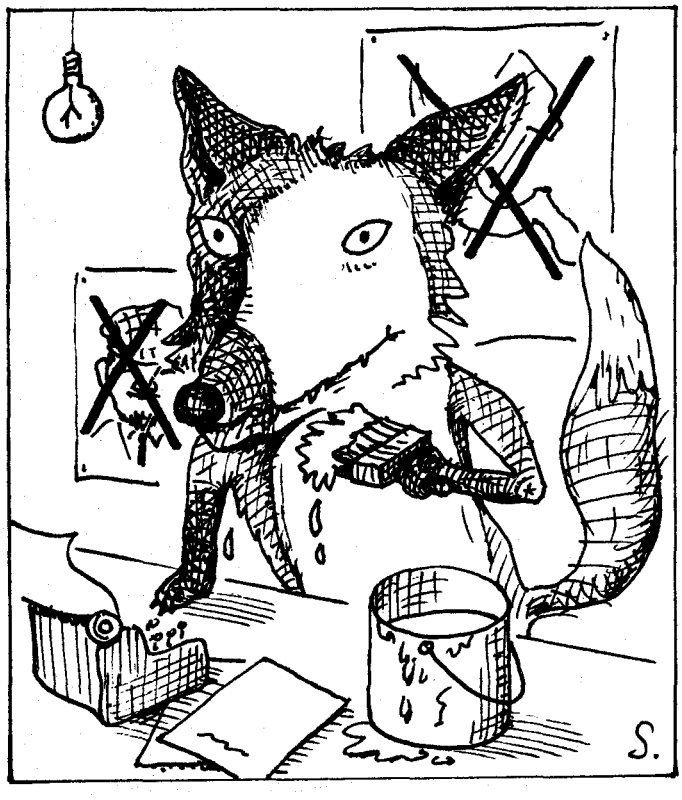
And the message has been heard. Foreign investors seem to be very interested in buying and funding newspapers in Eastern Europe. Many intellectuals are afraid that soon the Western media moguls will call the tune. These tycoons started to negotiate with the last Communist leaders because, at that time, no deals could be made without them. Robert Maxwell had a headstart over his rivals and, after delays, bought into several publications. Now, the dailies he owns partially or totally in this region sell more than 5 million copies.

Magyar Hirlap ("Hungarian News") was one of the four national newspapers in Hungary. It was the youngest, created by the Communist government as an ostensible alternative to the existing three, all government papers. But people did not pay attention to this fourth mouthpiece of the government, and *Magyar Hirlap* was a failure. Still, 20,000 to 30,000 copies were published for years, since the print run was decided by the Politburo and the expenses were met from the state budget. When Communism collapsed, the state did not want (and was not able) to subsidize newspapers any longer, so selling the money losers became as important as it is in Western countries. Because *Magyar Hirlap* seemed to be the weakest among the four national newspapers, many experts thought it would simply fold.

Suddenly, Maxwell entered the picture. On February 13, 1990, he bought a 40 percent share of *Magyar Hirlap*. The Communist leaders with whom he had started to negotiate were already out of power, but he had good connections with some representatives of the former opposition who are now M.P.s, so the deal went through. Right after this, in April, Maxwell bought a 40 percent interest in *Esti Hirlap* ("Evening News"), Hungary's only afternoon paper. At that time, serious financial problems occurred at *Magyar Hirlap*. As a result, the government allowed Maxwell to increase his capital share, and he became the majority shareholder.



This caused a general outcry in the Hungarian media. Even journalists who would have lost their jobs if *Magyar Hirlap* or *Esti Hirlap* had folded protested. There was a lot of talk about the danger to freedom of speech, possible political pressure and a censorship of money replacing that of the government. Editor in chief Peter Nemeth, a former sports writer, declared several times that Maxwell (who is listed as publisher) doesn't meddle in editorial questions.

Now life has changed a lot, but the editorial boards haven't. Many Communists managed to keep a more or less important job.

When you read *Esti Hirlap*, Maxwell's other paper, you would not even guess that he is the biggest shareholder; his name does not appear on the masthead. *Esti Hirlap* says it is "Published by The Esti Hirlap Co." You can see a similar statement in *Mai Nap* ("Today"), a brand-new afternoon paper, of which Murdoch owns 50 percent of the shares. It is not clear why the investors, who usually save papers from folding, do not get (or want) a credit. Murdoch's name does show up on the masthead of a weekly called *Reform*, which is published by "The Reform Hungarian-American News Magazine Co., a member of the Murdoch News Corporation Ltd." The editor in chief of *Mai Nap*, Istvan Horvath, a former senior staff writer at *Esti Hirlap*, has stressed repeatedly the independence of his paper's opinion from that of its famous majority owner.

Such declarations by media C.E.O.s can be read and heard every day in Hungary. Robert Hersant, owner of one of the biggest French publishing groups, took over *Magyar Nemzet* ("Hungarian Nation"), despite an earlier decision of the editorial board to accept the bid of a Swedish company. The new Hungarian government had to consent to the contract (legally, the dailies in question were all state-run and state-owned). The government did not agree with the earlier decision; it preferred the French company. God only knows why. There were some unproved, whispered speculations about bribes. The disappointed editor in chief resigned, and there were many articles published about Hersant's activities during World War II (he was tried several times for collaboration with the Nazis but was never convicted). The new editor in chief of *Magyar Nemzet* declared that the Hersant Group's contribution is purely financial and that it has not intervened in editorial decisions.

The Axel Springer Verlag, a huge German media group, is also very keen to invest in the news business in the region. There's no business like news business. After taking over a few East German papers, it came up with the new daily *Reggel* in Hungary.

Many people cannot understand why all these foreign com-

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panies are so interested in the third-rate newspapers of Eastern Europe. What do they get for their money? They get old-fashioned staff writers who serve the new owners as obediently as they did their Communist masters. It is rather difficult to get rid of these journalists because they have strong support from their colleagues and the unions. Modern equipment did not exist in the offices of these publications; old-fashioned manual typewriters produced the manuscripts. There are many editorial offices in Eastern Europe without a single computer or photocopier.

But Eastern Europe is a potentially rich market for every kind of business with a tilt toward the Soviet Union. Owning the pages on which the ads can be printed means a lot of power in the long term. Still, the meatiest dishes on the table of Eastern European media are the TV and radio stations. The dailies and the magazines serve as bridgeheads to commercial TV and radio.

There are no commercial radio or TV channels in the Eastern bloc as yet, but Western satellite TV broadcasts are already much watched. As long as the programs are broadcast in English, German and French, their impact will be minimal, but when TV and radio channels in these countries broadcast in the local languages, they will blow up the current structure of the media. The only obstacle left is the troubled legal situation: Broadcasting is still a state monopoly in Eastern Europe. However, there are reports that Silvio Berlusconi, owner of a media empire in Western Europe, could reach an agreement with several governments and may start to set up commercial channels in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

In Hungary, a temporary rule prohibits the forming of commercial radio or TV companies until Parliament passes the so-called Act on Media. Originally, the bill was to be revised this past March, but a behind-the-scenes political game is being played. Government circles want to keep control of the media, whereas the opposition calls for total freedom. According to gossip, Berlusconi has invited dozens of Hungarian M.P.s to Italy, but up to now, these invitations did not help. I don't think the Act on Media will be passed before late fall, so Berlusconi and his rivals will have to wait.

Maxwell and Murdoch were said to be among the rivals. But according to the first draft of the Act on Media, they may be in trouble. The draft introduces an antimonopoly regulation. A company that owns a national newspaper cannot own a national TV or radio channel. If the relevant paragraph remains unchanged, Maxwell and Murdoch would have to sell their papers to enter the screens or radio waves.

According to an old Eastern European joke, the difference between democracy and dictatorship is simple: Dictatorship is a woman who has but one breast, whereas democracy is the very same woman, having two—you can choose. But why not three or more? In Eastern Europe, nothing seems to be enough now that everything is allowed. Pornography, gossip and slander have become everyday routine in print. All this can be refreshing after so many years of boredom, when all the papers printed almost the same articles, based on the news releases of the state-run central news agencies and echoing the party line, though there were stylistic variations.

Now life has changed a lot, but the editorial boards haven't. Many Communists managed to keep some of their clout and a more or less important job. Eastern Europeans created new words to describe these political chameleons. The Poles came up with the nicest expression: "painted foxes." There is now a more aggressive drive against Hungary's painted foxes.

The waters of media are troubled and dirty. Kalman Gyorgyi, Hungary's Attorney General, is investigating the details of the privatization of four important papers, including *Nepszabadsag* (Bertelsmann) and *Esti Hirlap* (Maxwell). Gyorgyi wants to figure out if the sale of these papers was legal, and to what extent several painted foxes abused the deals to keep their positions. This accusation has an element of absurdity, since the buyers were not Communists but the aforementioned capitalists. But never mind; this is the season of the absurd in the ex-Eastern bloc. □

Human Rights

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

months of last year. This reflects a national trend, according to independent human rights groups, which predict that this year, for the fifth year in a row, Peru will top the United Nations list for countries that "disappear" their citizens.

§ The host of a *60 Minutes*-style news show obtained a military document authorizing "legal and illegal operations" against guerrillas, the elimination of suspects without leaving a trace and a take-no-prisoners policy. The Defense Minister acknowledged the document as authentic but called it "a slip of a single officer." Within the week, the show was canceled under pressure from the military, according to the host.

On July 30 the Bush Administration chose to overlook Peru's miserable record and signed the "positive determination" on human rights required by the 1990 International Narcotics Control Act. To smooth the gap between the letter of the law and the imperative to fight drugs abroad, "Western Diplomats" have borrowed a term: "constructive engagement." It's a bit shopworn from its tour in South Africa but, like most First World castoffs, still serviceable south of the Rio Grande.

The idea is that Peru and the United States have more to lose than gain by paying too much attention to human rights when it comes to the drug war. Put another way, is the Peruvian security forces' decade-long joy ride of murder and mayhem reason enough to chuck the latest version of the war on drugs? Western Diplomats just say no. Here's their reasoning:

Peru is a crucial part of a broad strategy outlined in Bush's 1989 Andean Initiative, which for the first time gave national military forces a direct role in the Andean drug war. In the past two years, funding to Andean militaries to fight drugs

Robin Kirk is a contributing editor of Pacific News Service. She writes frequently for U.S. newspapers and magazines.

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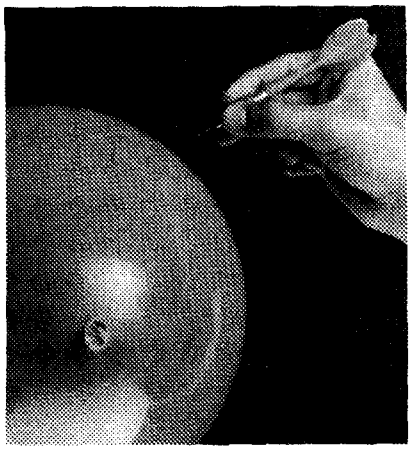

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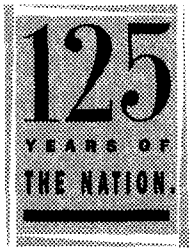

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has increased enormously, and at more than $141 million in 1990 exceeded U.S. military aid to Central America. An additional $100 million goes to the Pentagon for an elaborate surveillance system with (among other things) AWACS, Navy ships and military teams on intelligence-gathering missions. Without Peru, the plan is meaningless. Peru is the source of 65 percent of the coca leaf that ends up on U.S. streets as cocaine. The military there is supposed to provide the "security frame" necessary for combined Drug Enforcement Administration and Peruvian police operations. The target is no longer coca farmers but the middle tier of the drug economy: the jungle labs, the middlemen and the pilots who fly the raw cocaine north. The aim is to seal off coca farmers from a steady market, thus forcing them to abandon coca for legal crops.

Until Congress got cold feet about human rights, most members were enthusiastic. After all, no one wants to look soft on drugs at election time. At home, massive police sweeps, arrests, beatings and the like cause political problems. Abroad, however, they generate useful statistics for the campaign trail (so many kilos of cocaine nabbed, so many labs blown up, etc.).

For Peru, besieged by economic troubles, rampant corruption and political violence, the carrot is almost $100 million in antidrug aid: $35 million in weapons, training, rations, spare parts and uniforms for the military; $10 million for police (already spent); and $50 million to pay off debt. Technically, military aid is restricted to use in coca-growing areas only. But since the United States says "narcoterrorists" are a drug-war target, it's actually O.K. to use the aid to fight the Shining Path, the Maoist guerrillas who have formed lucrative alliances with some coca growers.

That's not new. In Colombia, for example, the bulk of U.S. military aid has gone to fund counterinsurgency operations in areas peripheral to the drug trade, according to a 1990 Government Accounting Office report. "You can't verify the use of every round," Ambassador to Peru Anthony Quainton told reporters testily in Lima recently, "or the use of every spare part put into an airplane. We're not going to demand that every time a soldier gets up to fire, he first asks, 'Were you involved in the drug trade or are you just a guerrilla?' "

The constructive-engagement angle comes with the conditions Peru must meet to qualify for aid, particularly human rights. If we don't offer the military the carrot of money, Western Diplomats say, there's no hope of pressuring them to reform. But they may think twice about waxing the next peasant if they know somebody's purse will snap shut.

The stick, of course, is this: no drug war, no bucks. Period.

The idea of creating the 'political will' to fight drugs where none exists is so antiquated it's almost charming.

If the United States pussyfoots on human rights and withholds aid, Western Diplomats warn, what's in the wings isn't pretty. When President Alberto Fujimori took office last year, Peru was technically bankrupt. Eleven days later, he imposed the harshest austerity measures in Latin American history. Overnight, some prices jumped 3,000 percent. Wages were frozen. Peruvians were stunned, but many believed his promise that sacrifice now would inspire international lenders to rush to Peru's aid and thus save the country in the long run.

Without economic aid, says drugologist Hernando de Soto, Peru could become dependent on narcodollars. De Soto is Fujimori's representative in negotiations with Washington, a skilled image-maker whose work on the informal economy has made him a neoliberal guru. "If we don't take the narcos seriously as a potential political force, not just one political party but the entire nation will be subject to them, just like Burma, Lebanon or Laos."

A more nightmarish future is threatened by the Shining Path [see Kirk, "Shining Path Is Gaining in Peru," April 29]. A sectlike insurgency bent on making Peru into a kind of retro–Red China, it feeds off misery, hopelessness and frustration—just the conditions that will be exacerbated if no one bails Peru out of its latest crisis.

The United States still calls the tune in Latin America, and refusal to approve aid would also put a wrench into Peru's relations with the rest of the First World. Although the Japanese, still goofy over the election of Fujimori, a nisei, are anxious to help, they waited for Bush's positive determination on human rights before formalizing an aid offer. Within hours, Japan pledged what had been on the table informally for months—$400 million. Other countries in the "help group" set up to bail out Peru followed suit, pitching in the

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billion dollars Peru needs to begin renegotiating its $21 billion debt.

With American know-how and war supplies, therefore, the assumption is that Peruvians will sprout the "political will" to fight drugs. Soldiers will boot guerrillas out of the coca jungles and win the peasants' trust by digging wells and setting up dental clinics. The police will get the narcos, and Peru will again a borrower and a lender be. In a few years, perhaps, former coca farmers will be trucking lucrative crops to market along the U.S.-financed Tingo María–Lima highway. Above them all, practically shimmering in the Andean stratosphere, will swing the tight net of U.S. military surveillance, sealing Peru off forever from the cocaine nightmare.

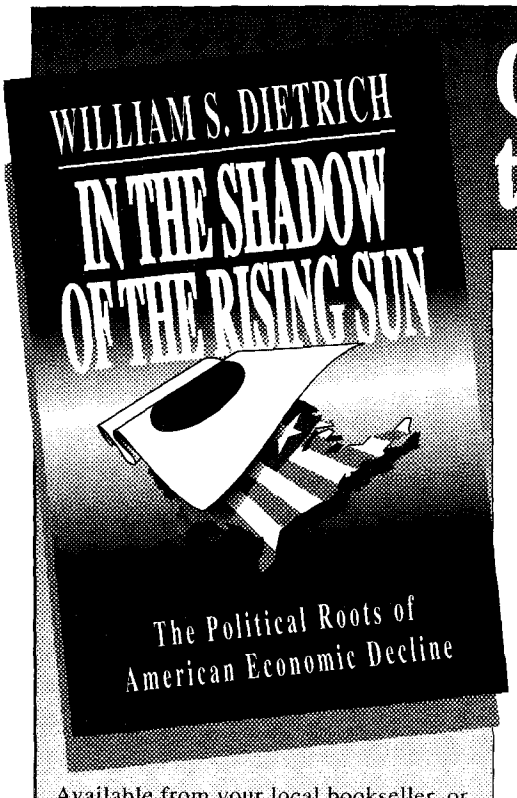
All this American planning and know-how, though, makes Peruvians sigh at the thought of so much work for naught. It's not that they don't want the money—I was told by the general in charge of the coca jungles that unless he got guns and bullets and copter fuel to kill the subversives, the gringos could kiss their drug war adios—it's just that in Peru things never quite work out as planned.

The belief that the security forces are capable of providing security to Peru's citizens would be a kind of joke on the gringos for Cromwell Castillo if he weren't staring at the one-year anniversary of his son's disappearance on October 21. Ernesto, 21, was swiped off the street by the Rambos. The lawyer who took the case identified the explosives expert he thinks took Ernesto, and for his courage got his arm blown off by a letter bomb last March. No trial, no suspects. Not even an investigation. "The idea that human rights violations by the police and military in Peru aren't persistent and systematic is absurd," Castillo says. "They have complete freedom to do what they want and when. They are accountable to no one."

Only in Peru will army officers, moonlighting as taxi drivers, offer their foreign journalist passengers photos of massacres and torture sessions pinched from file cabinets for modest sums and, well, to soothe by confession the bile-tinged ball of shame that lingers under the rib cage. Fujimori spent much of his first year in office trying to insulate the military from civilian oversight. For example, he decreed that soldiers in the Emergency Zone (which currently includes 40 percent of the nation's population) are on duty twenty-four hours a day, and therefore immune from civilian prosecution. Although the legislature nullified the decree, so far no officer has been convicted in civilian courts for a human rights crime.

The country's beleaguered justice system will receive no new moneys in 1991, only the last installment of a four-year, $3 million grant. Although only "narcoterrorists" are mentioned in drug war plans, more ubiquitous are "narco-lawyers," "narco-bankers" and "narco-generals." A friend of mine recently held a celebratory barbecue over $5,000 worth of documentary evidence bought from police that accurately fingered his brother-in-law as a drug smuggler.

The idea of creating the "political will" to fight drugs where none exists—as Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics Matters Melvin Levitsky proposed to Congress this year—is so antiquated (with its Vietnam War–era social engineering) that it's almost charming. In Peru's national opin-



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ion polls, fighting the drug war sits somewhere below the need for public urinals. Economic collapse has left Peruvians no other industry or ready source of revenue. The country survives on the sea of cheap greenbacks shipped in bales from the coca jungles. The Central Reserve Bank buys between $4 million and $13 million a day. When these dollars are restacked in the bank's vaults, however, they are renamed "reserves." Since Fujimori took office, Peru hasn't missed a payment on its debt and is quickly becoming a model creditor.

While the United States has paid lip service to the idea of developing replacement cash crops for coca farmers, less than 2 percent of the promised aid, $1.9 million, even comes close to benefiting them directly. And that money goes to one agricultural extension service in the Upper Huallaga Valley, which faces the same problems that have made coca such a boom crop: bad transportation, violence, corruption at all levels and a world market that can undersell any Peruvian coffee, cacao or African palm.

United States officials promise that the money slated for debt relief will eventually return in new funding for alternative development (an economic sleight-of-hand so conveniently enmeshed in debtspeak that nobody is really sure where or how the money will be spent). But the coca farmers are unhappy. When they are unhappy, things tend to improve for the bloodthirsty Shining Path. In fact, no one could be happier than they about an expanded U.S. military presence. They are already using the fight against "Yanqui imperialism" as a rallying cry against all foreigners in the shantytowns and highland hamlets that are their recruiting pool. What scares them most are competing political views, not guns. Guns, murder and terror are a language they command. The three foreign priests they murdered in August (two Poles and one Italian) were first denounced in dripping red wall graffiti. "Yanqui," went one of the threats, "[this] will be your tomb."

So when Fujimori arrives in Washington to glad-hand the $95 million out of Congressional limbo, he may be excused if he sees things a bit *a lo criollo*, as they say in Lima (i.e., "You scratch my back, I'll scratch yours").

I don't doubt his commitment to stopping drug trafficking (when it's no longer the sole support of the economy) and his desire, at least in the abstract, to polish Peru's human rights image. In the long run, however, easy drug money will drown his economic reforms. It's no fun to go to swank cities like New York, Tokyo and Geneva and read nasty stories about your country in the morning paper.

But Fujimori's a chess player at heart, and likes to think of himself as the consummate Latin leader, able to dance the required tune just long enough to squeeze a little something out of a powerful but distracted Uncle Sam.

Congress can't hold back aid forever. Fujimori will certainly tell them how grateful he is for America's vote of confidence on his economic reforms. By the way, he'll note, human rights have from the beginning been a cornerstone of his administration. He'll even have some new pronouncements on human rights to tell them about, cooked up in the frantic days between the Congressional hold and his visit to Washington. And if he's convincing, weapons could be on the way by late this month.

Today the enemy is the white powder blowing north across America.

What constructive engagement has wrought in Peru so far is not a better democracy but the potential for a more lethal war on drugs, staged at the margins of the global consensus on the right and wrong way governments should treat their citizens. If the Amnesty International report on Kuwait made George Bush go green at the gills, just wait until he gets a load of the next A.I. report on Peru. This time, though, some Western Diplomats will be whispering that such reports contain "disinformation" calculated to besmirch further Peru's international image.

When the military gets its guns and helicopters and bullets, it will use them the way it sees fit. The generals have spent the past eleven years calling human rights groups "the right arm of the Shining Path." They won't reform overnight, even for a fistful of dollars.

Two decades ago, battling the red tide was more important than Latin democracy, and Washington bought itself ferocious military regimes in Brazil, Guatemala, Argentina and Chile. Today the enemy is the white powder blowing north across America. Again, democracy is a side issue as the United States fights domestic demons on foreign shores. What passes for American diplomacy remains within the lexicon of war: battlegrounds, victory, terms of surrender. And of course, allies, enemies and the casualties inevitable to all wars. At least in Peru, we seem to be returning to the strongmen who somehow always end up taking more than their citizens choose to give.

When Western Diplomats loosen their ties and kick back their oxfords for the standard back-room, off-the-record chat "in country," they may speak of their "personal horror" about human rights abuses. But feelings are too feminine a trait to tip the weighty load of statecraft. In the end, only the drug war really matters. Human rights are just a *llapa*, the little extra that Andean traders throw in to make their customers smile. □

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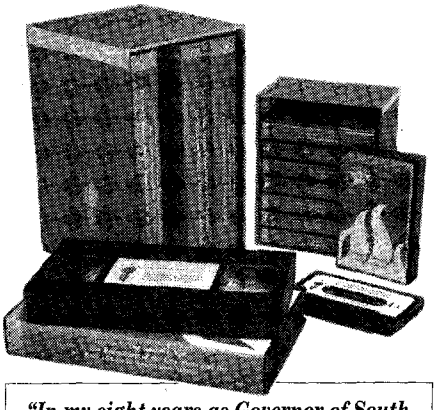

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Big Man on Campus

CATHARINE R. STIMPSON

ILLIBERAL EDUCATION: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus. *By Dinesh D'Souza. Free Press. 319 pp. $19.95.*

Uriah Heep first appears in *David Copperfield* as a redheaded youth of 15. His "long, lank skeleton hand" is holding the pony that has been pulling the chaise in which David is riding. After David gets out, he looks back to see Uriah "breathing into the pony's nostrils, and immediately covering them with his hand, as if he were putting some spell upon him."

As I read *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus*, this image of Uriah flashed uncontrollably before my mind's eye. Gentle lady that I wish to be, I resisted it. To be sure, Dinesh D'Souza, like Uriah, often masks ambition with an ingratiating air. Yet D'Souza, unlike Uriah, is neither forger nor criminal fraud. I feared, then, that my urge to link them was a symptom of an unbecoming petulance. It is, after all, my ox that D'Souza wants to gore.

I resist no more. For *Illiberal Education* does seek to cast a spell over public opinion. D'Souza is less pugnacious than William Bennett, less intellectual than Allan Bloom. The spellbinder's story is the same. So is the appeal to anxiety and fear. Something, the spellbinder avows, is rotten in higher education. Indeed, in more flaming conservative rhetoric, professors, especially of literature, have become the domestic equivalent of Saddam Hussein and administrators the equivalent of the pink-blooded liberals who would appease him. Having won our attention, the spellbinder then issues a call to arms against corruption and disease. D'Souza urges courageous students, professors, administrators, "parents, alumni, and civic leaders" to purge and renew the university.

Is contemporary public opinion a pony that can be led to the water of *Illiberal Education*? Apparently so, if a lingering position on the *New York Times* bestseller list is a reliable indicator. And, if at the water's edge, will we drink? The book will test our ability to distinguish a reasonable narrative from propaganda or, more specifically, from political propaganda. For *Illiberal Education* is a document in a political campaign. Like most campaigns, it polarizes reality. The target is higher education. Despite the reliance on federal money, especially for student aid and research, higher education is not the pliable servant of the current Republican Administration nor of rigidly conservative thought. D'Souza, then, must help to subdue its independence.

The lacerations of the campaign against the university during the 1980s have created a dangerous contradiction, which Derek Bok noted in his 1988-89 "President's Report" to the Harvard University Board of Overseers. Since the founding of Harvard in 1636, the United States has established about 3,500 community colleges, colleges and universities. Today, they have a reputation as the best in the world. Yet domestically, the spellbinders find them guilty of malfeasance, sloth and chaos—a verdict far in excess of higher education's failings and scandals.

These failings and scandals are real. They exist on three levels, which we must distinguish if we are to think clearly. In brief, they are:

1. Those failings for which higher education is directly responsible, e.g. curricular sloppiness, bad teaching of undergraduate science and—if rarely—indictable behavior.

2. Those failings that are the unintended consequences of the move away from higher education as an elite experience toward higher education as a mass experience, for example the roughness of the fit between secondary schools and colleges.

3. Those failings that are the consequences of the difficulties in American civic life, for example the historical experiences of our minorities or the current disease of taxophobia, which is reducing the resources we need to keep our physical and social infrastructure going.

As spellbinder, D'Souza glides from level to level, often writing as if they were one. He projects himself as a reasonable fellow, a moderate speaking to moderates, a young man seasoned enough to be capable of changing his mind. He dresses in tweeds, not in tattered rags.

A 1983 graduate of Dartmouth College, D'Souza edited *The Dartmouth Review*, the first explicitly conservative off-campus student newspaper, while he was there. Consistent with his new image, he distances himself now from its "most notorious showdowns." Less consistent with his new image, he is more forgiving of conservative collegiate shenanigans than of those of other youth. Conservative sophomores can be sophomoric. Other sophomores are dupes. One of D'Souza's favorite roles is that of Socrates Junior, wandering from campus to campus, showing the dupes their dopiness. After chatting with three African-American women at Harvard, he muses, "I could not help liking . . . these students. . . . Somewhere after college, one hoped, these young women would, through experience and continued reflection, find a better understanding of themselves, their heritage, and their country than they were receiving at Harvard." Any Socrates Junior must struggle against the temptation to patronize. D'Souza could do with a few more walks on the hard side of struggle. After accurately describing one original aim of affirmative action, to find "capable but disadvantaged minority students" and to give them "a break on formal education requirements," he pronounces, "There is a desperate shortage of black students who, by any measure of academic promise, can meet the demanding work requirements and competition of the nation's best universities."

Despite D'Souza's subtitle, his interest is in race in America. Girding his belief in his ability to analyze this subject is his background. He is a native of India who came to the United States as a high school exchange student. He claims, plausibly enough, that the "religious, tribal, and cultural heterogeneity" of India, followed by his experience as an immigrant, gives him a "unique . . . perspective." He can balance distance and a special empathy with minority students who wish to discover "who they are, individually and as a people." One of his strengths is that he does recognize that the United States is a multicultural country in a multicultural world and that education must prepare students for this reality.

True to report that the reasonable man's pose is also self-serving. D'Souza's silences are clues to the presence of bad faith. He erases three accomplishments

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in his public career that might disturb anyone who believes, as I do, that education ought to be a nonpartisan affair.

First, he has had his ugly, problematic and sectarian moments. As Louis Menand points out in a fair-minded review in *The New Yorker* for May 20, D'Souza's *Dartmouth Review* printed documents stolen from the Gay Student Association [see also David Corn, "Beltway Bandits," May 13, and "Letters," June 24 and July 8]. Homosexuals, like feminists, give D'Souza the shudders. After Dartmouth, D'Souza edited an alumni magazine, *Prospect*, at Princeton University. He fails to note that conservative alumni, many still angry over Princeton's admission of undergraduate women, sponsored *Prospect*. Menand reminds us that D'Souza wrote an article about the sex life of a woman who had declined to be interviewed for the magazine—without her consent. "It is not pleasant," Menand writes sardonically, "to see a man who did so much to poison the wells now turning up dressed as the water commissioner."

Second, the name "Jerry Falwell" appears neither in D'Souza's index nor on a list of previous publications. Indeed, there is no such list. Yet, he has published what Menand calls an "admiring biography" of Falwell. Finally, he hushes up his Republican credentials. He was a domestic policy analyst in the Reagan White House and, in 1988, worked to solicit Catholic votes in the Bush-Quayle campaign. Since Republicanism need not be a barrier to thinking well about and doing well for education, D'Souza's silence seems at best gratuitous and at worst hypocritical and misleading. Hypocrisy, of course, seeks to mislead. Excoriating universities for establishing codes that ban offensive speech, codes that I also oppose, D'Souza writes, "Paradoxically, about the same time that the U.S. Supreme Court was teaching the nation a lesson in tolerance, striking down laws that restricted burning the flag, Michigan and other colleges were legislating freely against unpopular forms of expression." A reader might conclude from this that George Bush was preparing a speech for Women's History Month about Betsy Ross instead of lobbying aggressively for a constitutional amendment to ban flag burning. D'Souza also exculpates the Bush-Quayle campaign from charges that the Willie Horton commercials encouraged a racially divisive politics. "None of the GOP's commercials actually showed a picture of Horton," he writes piously. "It was the media and the

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independent political action groups which stressed his skin color."

D'Souza is, of course, vocal about the American campus. His college catalogue will be familiar to anyone who has followed the harder conservative line about higher education. One reason for gazing at D'Souza is that his catalogue draws that line so efficiently. His campus seems "serene and opulent," an affluence that democratic capitalism has brought. Crucially, D'Souza visits only six campuses, all of them elite: Berkeley, Duke, Harvard, Howard, Michigan and Stanford. Campuses such as my own, Rutgers, which are strong but not among the most selective, are slighted. (To be more precise, Rutgers does have its moments: a mistaken identification, a place on a list of institutions that have prostituted admissions and the curriculum for the sake of diversity, a ranking at the bottom of a hierarchy of institutional prestige.) This focus is on the consequence of several, overlapping assumptions: that elite institutions educate our political, cultural and economic elites; that their corruption is more dangerous than that of a community college or comprehensive university, which educate lower middle managers and worker bees; and that the corrupting barbarians have seized the elite institutions. Of course, reading about scandals among the ruling classes is more titillating than reading about scandals next door. Gertrude's adultery is better gossip than that of a Danish serving girl.

Like most alarmist narratives, *Illiberal Education* has a structure that consists of three acts. D'Souza then covers this structure with certain rhetorical strategies. As Harvard faculty member Alice Jardine has written, he draws together "hodge-podge items that are verifiable on the level of detail, decontextualizes them, then reasserts them by associative innuendo within a system of preconceptions of his own . . . fabulation." So doing, D'Souza, though no friend of contemporary literary theory, deploys the "reality effect" that Roland Barthes named. If a writer gives lots of details, he or she builds up an authority that then permits generalizations and universal statements, especially about the human condition.

D'Souza's Act I describes the Eden from which we have fallen. Once, the campus was a bastion of liberal learning. Once, the curriculum was whole and complete. Once, the campus cared about individuals as individuals, the basis for a liberal and democratic society. D'Souza's vision of liberal learning, drawn in part from John Henry Newman's *The Idea of a University*, is a deeply attractive moral compass for many of us. It enlarges consciousness and identity, permits us to know ourselves and others, shows us relations between the particular and the whole, and "liberates and prepares us for a rich and full life as members of society." Preferably, this society will be democratic and free. Like the peaceable kingdom, it will encourage the lion of excellence and the lamb of equity to lie down together.

D'Souza writes as if the campus were once a harmonious, even homogeneous community.

Unconstrained by history, D'Souza croons on as if the arms of Alma Mater had always embraced minority men, women of all races and Jews of both sexes; as if no alumni nor alumnae child had ever been the beneficiary of preferential admissions; as if the "Gentleman's C" were an F. Scott Fitzgerald plot device; and as if academic discourse were once a robust banquet and the American Association of University Professors, though founded to protect academic freedom, a cooking club.

Another note in this air is D'Souza's attitude about student organizations. He writes as if the campus were once a harmonious, even homogeneous community. Here no secret societies, eating clubs, fraternities and sororities accepted some students and rejected others. Here no Hillel Foundations appealed to Jewish students, no Newman Centers to Catholic. This fantasizing extends to his prescriptions for student life in the future. Anxious about racial segregation and about race as the prime determinant of identity, he would proscribe minority clubs and groups. Universities, he flatly declares, "should discourage the practice of minority self-segregation on campus by refusing to recognize and fund any group which is racially separatist and excludes students based on skin color." Instead, faithful to their mission of encouraging intellectual diversity, universities should "sanction groups based on a shared intellectual or cultural interest." No Black Students Association, but a W.E.B. Du Bois Society; no Latino Political Club, but a Sandino Club; and, if one must, no Gay and Lesbian Students Association, but a Sappho Society. Because I share D'Souza's belief in the university as the site of intellectual diversity, I like this idea. However, D'Souza does not follow out the logic of his prescription. Would he ban fraternities and sororities? Or sports clubs? Or are sports a cultural interest? Moreover, D'Souza's proposal would deliberately strip support from student activists—be they members of a racial minority, members of a sexual minority or feminists—who have used student organizations to effect decent institutional change.

The second act of *Illiberal Education*'s narrative begins in the 1960s. At that time radicals took their backpacks from the streets into faculty offices and deaneries. After the turmoil of the 1960s and early 1970s, the campuses were quiet—presumably as radicals stealthily consolidated power. In the 1980s a series of racial incidents broke out, especially at large research institutions outside the South.

These sad, ugly incidents apparently occur more often at one kind of institution than at others. A 1990 Carnegie Foundation report, *Campus Life: In Search of Community*, surveys college and university presidents, 24 percent of whom said that racial tensions and hostilities were a moderate to a major problem. However, 68 percent of the presidents of research and doctorate-granting institutions, but only 15 percent of the presidents of two-year colleges, said so. A poll of professors found that only 12 percent of them felt there was a lot of racial tension on their campuses, but more than 20 percent of them at public universities thought there was. Prevailing, though not exclusive, conditions for racial incidents thus seem to be those of a large residential university that has a sprawling undergraduate population drawn from many different, mutually alien groups and neighborhoods but that educates constituencies other than undergraduates as well. Today intelligent student-life officials are the avant-garde of universities in transition, helping diverse students live together. "This is my problem," a housing officer at a big Midwestern public university recently told me. "I have a dorm with rooms with four beds. In three of them, I have suburban and rural white kids. In the fourth, I have an urban black kid. I worry about his isolation."

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D'Souza, however, will have little of this. Scorning people who think that institutional racism might have some causal connection to racial incidents, he primarily blames an "academic revolution," a "new worldview" that is "consolidating itself." Aiding and abetting this revolution are acquiescent faculty and, even more perniciously, administrations that are "a curious mixture of pusillanimity, ideology, and opportunism." D'Souza's paradox is this: Old-time liberals are illiberal. Their war on racism breeds racism. But any visitor to an American campus who has left his ax in the woodshed will be hard-pressed to see signs of Revolution Triumphant. No bronze statues of Politically Correct Person loom on the fifty-yard line of the football stadiums. That visitor will, however, see signs of change and its traveling companions: nervous aggressiveness on the part of some of its supporters and opponents alike, stress, tension, visions of utopia and dystopia at war. Among faculties, these companions swell when resources are shrinking; when a history department, for example, must choose between hiring a European or an Asian historian.

For D'Souza, illiberal education has won out. Its keystones are:

1. *Affirmative action.* Since its inception, affirmative action has been a contested zone. In 1975, in *Affirmative Discrimination*, Nathan Glazer gave the most powerful and persuasive argument against it that I know. In the 1960s, he writes, the United States reached a consensus about racial and ethnic prejudice—to do away with any federally supported distinctions on the basis of race and ethnicity. Then, affirmative action abandoned this consensus and restored distinctions on the basis of race. We "entered into a period of color- and group-consciousness with a vengeance." The socially destructive consequences have been an assertion of white ethnic resentment and a reassertion of white ethnic identity; economic competition between blacks and white ethnics; challenges to seniority systems; and the loss of the liberal stress on the individual. In a recent poll that I have seen, although only 15 percent of American faculties thought affirmative action was causing strains, just half were satisfied with its results.

D'Souza describes real difficulties with affirmative action practices. Its detractors have encouraged the suspicion, which has become widespread, that all minority students are in college because

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of affirmative action; that all minority faculty have jobs because of affirmative action. (Unsurprisingly, D'Souza does not record another cry and whisper from the detractors of affirmative action—that it keeps good white men from getting jobs.) Moreover, helping one group through affirmative action can mean hurting another group, an inequity higher education has yet to resolve. The inclusion of some blacks and Latinos at Berkeley did mean the exclusion of able Asian-Americans. This points to a larger dilemma: the lack of a consensus about the measures we are to use to show that we are distributing resources justly. Finally, D'Souza legitimately asks if policies of preferential treatment (for undergraduates, I presume) might not be shifted from "race to socioeconomic disadvantage." If we did, "no longer will a black or Hispanic doctor's son, who has enjoyed the advantages of comfort and affluence, receive preference over the daughter of an Appalachian coal miner or a Vietnamese street vendor." Given the realities of American life, many minority students would still be eligible for help. In my experience, nearly every white student will accept the idea of minority scholarships. He or she will, however, get upset, with good reason, if a minority student on such a scholarship seems both to have wealthier parents and to do less work.

Despite such moments, D'Souza axmurders affirmative action. To him, it has lowered recruitment standards and skewed the labor market. He correctly states that the current pool of minority faculty is neither deep nor wide enough to satisfy the demand, but this proponent of the free market becomes a nattering nabob of negativism when minority faculty get the benefits of an imbalance between supply and demand. To him, affirmative action has also drastically corroded admissions standards for minority students. Unable to do demanding academic work, they become alienated, unhappy and drop out. Minority dropout rates *are* worse than those of majority students, but as usual, matters are more complex than D'Souza's polemic will allow. My university was part of a study of undergraduates who entered sixteen universities in 1983. The graduation rate for all students ranged from a low of 24 percent to a high of 75 percent; for blacks, from a low of 6 percent to a high of 55 percent; for Latinos from 11 percent to 71 percent. Obviously, the graduation rate for minorities in some schools was higher than the rate for all students in others. A crucial difference among institutions was the programs for minorities once they entered. These graduation rates also reveal one of the deepest problems for American higher education, the college preparation of nearly every student, no matter what the race, in every discipline. Anguish over the lack of preparation unites professors. Whether they will translate anguish into greater cooperation with primary and secondary schools, whether the United States as a whole will help the students in these schools to learn—these well-known questions test our civic virtue.

If Illiberal Education *represents the traditional liberal arts, which are to rescue us from ethnocentrism, we are really in the soup.*

2. *The curriculum.* D'Souza's attack on affirmative action is delicate compared with that on the curriculum. All evidence to the contrary notwithstanding, he asserts that the great and canonical works of Western civilization have been diluted or displaced to make room for new course requirements; that Shakespeare has been shoved aside for Alice Walker, *Othello* for *The Color Purple*. Feminists, he gasps, "want to replace alleged sexists like Aquinas and Milton with Simone de Beauvoir and Gloria Steinem." This nonsense not only abusively distorts and dismisses the serious scholarship of the past decades on race, ethnicity and gender. It also feeds the common misperception that this scholarship, still marginal to many classrooms, has instead hijacked them. A 1991 survey, for example, showed only 11 percent of the faculty in general, and 8 percent of those in community colleges, using readings about race and gender in their undergraduate courses. Yet more than one-third thought that many courses did include a "minority perspective."

In *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Bob Beyers painstakingly corrects D'Souza's account of the mild reforms in the undergraduate Western civilization course at Stanford. To be sure, the faculty, after a long debate, changed its name to "Cultures, Ideas, and Values." To be sure, the faculty did ask that the course's various tracks include work by women and minority authors. However, the Bible, Shakespeare, Marx and Freud appear on all eight tracks; Aristotle, St. Augustine, Rousseau and Virginia Woolf on seven. Two more examples of error:

D'Souza claims that "intellectual curbs do not apply to professors who are viewed as the champions of minority interests—they are permitted overtly ideological scholarship, and are immune from criticism even when they make excessive or outlandish claims with racial connotations. This dogmatism extends to the official policy of academic organizations such as the Modern Language Association." As a past president of the M.L.A., I was torn, reading this statement, between laughter, because it is so foolish; anger, because it is so false; and frustration, because it is so hard to answer. One must choose between a simple declaration—"That's false"—which may seem evasive, or the publication of every official statement and policy paper, which may seem excessive.

D'Souza devotes about two pages to one of Alice Jardine's 1989 Harvard classes and makes it typical of the "distinctive perspective" of women's studies. Jardine finds eleven factual errors in these pages alone. For example, D'Souza wants to turn women's studies into a coven of castrating man-haters. He writes that throughout the descriptions of term papers "one female student offered ribald one-liners about a man who lost his penis, penises that were cut off, accidents in which every part of the victim was recovered—except the penis." However, Jardine explains, "D'Souza's paragraph about missing penises is hysterical—literally. What I believe he is referring to is the ten-minute discussion the class devoted each week to a review of some of the major Greek and other Mediterranean myths. . . . The myth under discussion was that of Osiris, the most popular of all Egyptian deities, whose body was rent into fourteen pieces. . . . His wife Isis buried each piece. . . . However, the phallus was never found. . . . I trust that the ways in which this mythical narrative of missing body parts could lead a class of young people to giggles are obvious."

Breeding curricular changes is "*au courant*" scholarship, to D'Souza a poisonous smorgasbord of Third World studies that romanticizes developing countries and denigrates the West; Afro-

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American and ethnic studies; women's studies; and of course, deconstruction. In an illogical leap, which fuses intellectual schools and mistakenly considers parallel developments in intellectual and institutional life to be causally related, D'Souza then blames this scholarship for a putative assault on truth, meaning and values that rationalizes the weakening of standards in admissions and faculty recruitment.

Obviously, the curricular and intellectual movements that have grown since the 1960s provide their share of silliness, folly, rigidity and blather. Such attributes give outside critics like D'Souza fodder and inside critics like me acute distress. He is right to condemn the pernicious racial theories and anti-Semitism of New York City College professor Leonard Jeffries. Indulging once again in selective evidence, D'Souza flails Jeffries for his lack of accuracy and common sense but fails to mention Michael Levin, a colleague of Jeffries at City College who lectures on black intellectual inferiority. D'Souza also proposes a course that I would enjoy teaching, a study of equality and difference through reading "a carefully chosen set of classic texts" from West and East. However, D'Souza refuses to examine the intricate historical processes through which a classic gets to be a classic, an aspect of his larger refusal to credit the new scholarship about the relations of social power, ideology and culture. This is one symptom, among the least irritating, of a pervasive intellectual vulgarity and misreading of the humanities, traits that Michael Bérubé has forcefully analyzed in *The Village Voice*. If *Illiberal Education* represents the traditional liberal arts, and if the traditional liberal arts are to rescue us from ethnocentrism and chauvinism, then we are really in the soup. Let one more neon sign of D'Souza's reading powers now suffice. Offering his course on equality and the classics, he suggests that his solution would "retain what Matthew Arnold termed 'the best that has been thought and said.' " Conservatives like to call on Matthew Arnold as their touchstone for criticism and curricular design. Arnold, however, in "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time," wrote that criticism's job is to propagate "the best that is known and thought in the world."

3. *The loss of a fair community.* For D'Souza, "blacks, feminists, and homosexuals," because they represent themselves as victims, are now exempt from ordinary restrictions and favored by appeasing administrators. Discussing groups that organize around a shared sense of victimization, D'Souza lapses into another of his intriguing silences. He exempts the handicapped from his strictures. Yet it is arguable that the heroic, welcome efforts to make the campus accessible to the handicapped have cost financially more than any affirmative action program for minorities.

With some persuasiveness, D'Souza describes students' resentment when they perceive a double standard in the rewarding of campus goodies and campus punishments. He claims, moreover, that white students—especially white male students—must undergo training sessions, which they also resent, in order to dive into the wreck of and then to pull out of hegemonic privilege. Becoming the sayer of the previously unsaid, he writes, "Nobody will say so, but the truth is that a large number of students and faculty have simply *had it* with minority double standards and intimidation." Here, I fear, D'Souza has struck some pay dirt. The phrase "P.C." would not have been used on campuses in the 1980s if the phenomenon did not exist at all.

4. *A denial of free speech.* I want to affirm my commitment to academic freedom and my opposition to speech codes. So would the vast majority of academics. Nevertheless, D'Souza charges that the campus has slaughtered diversity of thought in the name of diversity of groups. Of the several fears to which D'Souza appeals, the loss of academic freedom is probably the most pervasively felt. It animates C. Vann Woodward's generally approving review of *Illiberal Education* in *The New York Review of Books*, which seems less attentive to evidence and nuance than most of Woodward's work. But whatever problems exist, D'Souza flagrantly exaggerates and polarizes campus life into a melodramatic struggle between revolutionary bullies and a handful of martyrs. (His martyrs do not include Charles Curran, the theologian who could not stay at Catholic University.) The first weapon against freedom of speech he condemns is self-censorship in order to avoid being "insensitive" and offending a member of a "minority." Minorities are simply too touchy about their feelings. The second weapon is the harassment of "insensitive" faculty and the expulsion of "insensitive" students. The third is the promulgation of codes that outlaw forms of speech. These

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codes elevate a right to freedom from hateful speech over the right to constitutionally protected speech, no matter how hateful it might be. D'Souza's sections on "The New Censorship" lump together a few patently unconstitutional efforts to restrict speech, codes of campus civility and conduct that withstand constitutional scrutiny, and the social and psychological awkwardness that people now experience on campuses.

Significantly, the languages we now have on our campuses for majority-minority relations are painfully messy. This is another mark of the demographic and intellectual transitions campuses are going through. Although languages vary from campus to campus, they consist of several grammars, all of which have the power to hurt. There is hate speech against various minorities—anti-black, anti-Asian, anti-Semitic, anti-gay and -lesbian. There is hate speech against women, now a majority of undergraduates. Simultaneously, some get-whitey epithets emerge from some members of minority groups; some get-the-pigs epithets from a few feminists. To add to the confusion, false charges of racism, homophobia and sexism—like false accusations of rape—do happen, from a mixture of political and psychological motives. Most commonly, different groups state genuine grievances that have different historical roots. Because grievances are grievances, against something or somebody, every plaintiff has a defendant. Some defendants try to understand the grievance, a process D'Souza mocks. Some become defensive.

This messiness, in conjunction with our lack of familiarity with each other, means that we do not always understand each other's speech conventions. Aggressively robust speech, the friendly insult, the probing question that lances ignorance—all these are good things. However, the robustness, the friendliness, the sharp point of the probing—all these are most clearly appreciated when every participant in a conversation knows the conventions that govern their use. One of the obligations of the campus is to nourish freedom of speech and at the same time to teach our many speech conventions. Ultimately, freedom of speech makes the pedagogical task possible.

The third act of *Illiberal Education* offers an apocalyptic vision of a devastated future. Imagine, the spellbinder urges, that the campus revolution on "behalf of minority victims" is the engine of a general social transformation. White students have learned that might makes right and that multiculturalism is a fraud. Minority students are doubly victimized, by a condescending new racism among administrators who admit them and then refuse to educate them and by a stubborn new racism among white students who hate the fact that a "multiracial society cannot be based on fair rules . . . but must rather be constructed through a forced rationing of power among separatist racial groups." We will not have pluralism but a "framework for racial browbeating and intimidation." We will not have ethnic harmony but "lurid bigotry, intolerance, and balkanization of campus life in the broader culture." If I believed this narrative, I too would be appalled.

Today, the academy, like culture in general, is evolving rapidly. Indeed, D'Souza fails to note many of the deepest changes. Compared with the effect of the computer, that of women's studies is minor. Inexorably, cultural evolution provokes excitement and fear. In such times we need the kind of analysis that Arnold, in "The Function of Criticism," praised in the work of Edmund Burke—"He brings thought to bear upon politics, he saturates politics with thought." Instead, *Illiberal Education* saturates educational debate with slippery rhetoric, inconsistency and falsehood. *Illiberal Education* debases thought for a heap of bony power. □

What Happened at Harvard

JON WIENER

The neocon book of the year is Dinesh D'Souza's *Illiberal Education*, which spent much of the spring and the entire summer on the best-seller list, promising readers an encyclopedia of offenses perpetrated on campus in the name of "political correctness." Reviewers of the book have highlighted the case of Harvard historian Stephan Thernstrom as one of D'Souza's most illuminating. Eugene Genovese wrote in *The New Republic* that Thernstrom had been "savaged for political incorrectness in the classroom." *New York* magazine featured Thernstrom as a victim of "demagogic and fanatical" black students. C. Vann Woodward, writing in *The New York Review of Books*, cited the Thernstrom case as an example of "the attack on freedom . . . led by minorities."

As D'Souza tells the story, Thernstrom, widely known on campus as a liberal, was charged by three black students with "racial insensitivity" in his lectures in an introductory history course, "The Peopling of America." Instead of coming to him with their complaints, they went to an administrative committee and to the student newspaper, *The Harvard Crimson*. The greatest offense came not from the black students but from the Harvard administration: Dean of the College Fred Jewett, according to D'Souza, issued a statement that suggested that the college backed the students against Thernstrom. Dean of the Faculty Michael Spence eventually stated that, in D'Souza's words, "no disciplinary action would be taken against Thernstrom," but Spence did "praise the course of action of Thernstrom's accusers as 'judicious and fair.'" Thernstrom was so discouraged by the student attack and the administration's failure to defend his academic freedom that he decided not to teach the course again. Thus the Thernstrom case provided D'Souza, Woodward, Genovese and others with what they said was an example of a distinguished liberal professor hounded out of teaching his course by an alliance of militant black students and the administrators who supported them.

In fact, almost every element of the story D'Souza tells is erroneous. "I talked with one of the students who had complained about Thernstrom," says Orlando Patterson, professor of sociology at Harvard. "She was genuinely upset about one of his lectures. This was not an ideological reaction, it was a personal and emotional one. She said she did not want to make it a political issue, and had deliberately rejected attempts by more political students to make it into a cause. She was trembling with rage at the *Crimson* for making this public. She said that when Thernstrom was lecturing on the black family, she understood him to be asking why black men treat their women so badly. I assumed that he had offered a straightforward statement of sociological fact. I told her it's increasingly problematic to have an objective discussion of the black family. We talked for a long time,

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and in the end she came around to seeing what I was trying to say. I told her I was sure Steve wasn't a racist, and suggested she go talk to him about how she felt. She did. They had a long talk, shook hands and that was the end of it. But the *Crimson* had made it into a political issue."

Paula Ford is one of the students who complained about Thernstrom; today she is enrolled at Harvard Law School. D'Souza never interviewed her, she says. Although he reported that the students never complained directly to Thernstrom, she says she and several of her friends talked to Thernstrom after class "a couple of times"—especially after his lecture on the black family. She recalls that "he said black men beat their wives, and then their wives kicked them out. We complained to him after class that this was offensive and inaccurate. He said, 'If you don't believe me, read Toni Morrison.' I felt that was completely trivializing what's out there." She and one other student then went to the campus race relations committee and said, "We have this problem, how do we deal with this?" Today she recalls, "It was a difficult and emotional process for us. A good part of the campus felt, 'They're professors. Why are you accusing them?' "

Regarding Thernstrom's decision not to teach the course again, Ford said she was "surprised" and "not happy" to hear it. "That was not our goal. Our goal was to point out areas in his lectures that we thought were inaccurate and possibly could be changed. To me, it's a big overreaction for him to decide not to teach the course again because of that."

Wendi Grantham is quoted by D'Souza as one of the students who complained about Thernstrom. She graduated in 1989; today she is studying drama in New York City. D'Souza never interviewed her, she says. "If he had, I would have made it clear to him that I was not one of the students who filed the complaint. I didn't even know they were filing a complaint. A reporter for the *Crimson* led me to believe this complaint was public, which turned out not to be true. All I said was that I could see that their complaint might have some basis."

Eventually she wrote a letter to the *Crimson* explaining her position. "People don't understand the term 'racial insensitivity,' " she told me. "It's not a charge of bigotry or racism. I said in my letter to the *Crimson*, 'I do not charge that Thernstrom is a racist.' We did question some things in his course because his perspective on black life came across to us as simplistic and not reflective of our own experience. You can't always anticipate other people's experience, but you can learn from listening to them. In most academic situations the professor puts out the knowledge and that's it. But I think some things ought to be questioned."

D'Souza writes that black students criticized the course for using slave owners' journals; Thernstrom told him, "It is essential for young people to hear what justifications the slave owners supplied for their actions." "I agree completely with that," Grantham said. "The problem I had was with the absence of the slave perspective to put alongside the planter perspective. Why not read the slave narratives to get the other side of the story? There's a lot of them available, but Professor Thernstrom didn't assign any. This was a general studies course; for most white students, this was all the black history they would ever get. We felt the knowledge this course would give them was inadequate."

D'Souza represents the finest flower of a vast neocon talent search.

"I finally did go speak to Professor Thernstrom," she said. "I said I was sorry if he was scapegoated; I did not want to penalize him but I did want to raise questions about his perspective. It was never my intention to stop Thernstrom from teaching this course. If that's what he chooses to do, it's his decision."

D'Souza didn't interview any of the students in the Thernstrom case, but he did approach three other black students majoring in Afro-American studies. I located one of them: Tiya Miles, returning to Harvard as a senior this fall. "When he talked to us, we had the impression he was putting together some kind of statistical report. We had no idea what his political slant was. We were happy that somebody was going to talk about the problems of race on campuses like Harvard. He didn't tell us anything about what he did at Dartmouth or on *The Dartmouth Review*. I wish I had known that this was a situation in which I had to protect myself."

D'Souza quotes Miles and her two friends as examples of the "impact of the race and gender pedagogy." The three Afro-Am majors come off as lamentably ignorant, in contrast to the wise and well-informed interviewer. They know nothing about Lincoln's view of the Declaration of Independence, a subject on which D'Souza showed he was an expert. "But we were all new on the campus," Miles points out. When D'Souza talked to them, the three women were all first-year students who had completed one semester of college. Their ignorance couldn't have been an effect of the "impact" of Afro-American studies, as D'Souza claims, because they had barely begun to study the subject. Miles concluded, "I don't understand how a person of color can take his position."

The strongest criticism from D'Souza, Woodward and Genovese is aimed not at the black students who complained about Thernstrom but rather at the Harvard administration for its conduct in the case. Because he received so little support from the administration, Thernstrom told D'Souza, "I felt like a rape victim." D'Souza writes that "a few days after the Thernstrom incident, Dean of the College Fred Jewett issued an open letter to the Harvard community. . . . Far from coming to his defense, Jewett appeared to give full administrative sanction to the charges against Thernstrom."

Jewett today remains Dean of the College at Harvard. D'Souza never interviewed him, Jewett says: "My statement had nothing to do with Thernstrom. As I recall, it was distributed in registration envelopes at beginning of term, a couple of weeks before anything about Thernstrom became news. It was titled 'Open Letter on Racial Harassment.' There had been some incidents on campus of swastika paintings, and a few incidents involving the police that had created some concerns. So we felt we needed a strong general statement on harassment. Obviously the Thernstrom case was not in that category. When students disagree with the ideas presented by a professor, they are not dealing with harassment, they are dealing with academic freedom. That's not something that the university should interfere with."

The other administrator criticized in the book and the reviews, Spence, is today graduate dean of the business school at Stanford. Woodward repeats D'Souza's claim that Spence "praised [Thernstrom's] accusers as 'judicious and fair.' " Woodward left out the crucial part of the dean's statement, as did D'Souza: The dean said that the students

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who complained "have avoided public comment. . . . That course of action seems to me judicious and fair." It was not the criticism of Thernstrom that was "judicious and fair" but rather the students' decision not to go public with their criticism that the dean praised.

According to D'Souza, in the same statement the dean declared that "no disciplinary action would be taken" against Thernstrom. In fact, the issue of disciplinary action against Thernstrom was not mentioned in the dean's statement; on the contrary, the dean declared that "[in] disputes over classroom material . . . instructors exercise full discretion over the content of lectures and the conduct of classroom discussion," and "in the classroom, our students are entitled to question views with which they disagree," and finally, "the University cannot prevent all of the conflicts that a commitment to free inquiry may provoke." Thernstrom found this statement to be "equivocal at best," D'Souza reports, interpreting it to mean that "he had the right to be racist, if he wished." Genovese agreed, writing that the Harvard administrators in the Thernstrom case were "doing their best to create an atmosphere in which professors who value their reputations . . . learn to censor themselves."

As for the three students who took their complaint to the university's Advisory Committee on Race Relations, they were advised that the committee had no jurisdiction over professors' teaching, and that they should take their complaint to Thernstrom—which they did. "They felt the university didn't do anything to back up their concerns," Dean Jewett said.

If D'Souza's account of the Thernstrom case is misleading, it's a model of restraint compared with other accounts of the same events. *New York* magazine began its article on the case with what appeared to be a description of black students verbally harassing Thernstrom as he walked around the campus:

" 'Racist.' 'Racist!' 'The man is a racist!' 'A *racist!*' Such denunciations, hissed in tones of self-righteousness and contempt, vicious and vengeful, furious, smoking with hatred—such denunciations haunted Stephan Thernstrom for weeks."

When I asked Thernstrom if this passage was accurate, he replied, "I was appalled when I first saw that. Nothing like that ever happened." He described that passage as "artistic license, describing how it felt to be Thernstrom in that period, and that part is absolutely true." (The piece does go on to say, "He found it hard not to imagine the pointing fingers.") The *Crimson*, he said, "ran a story just about every day, with headlines like 'Thernstrom's racial insensitivity still in doubt.' " It's not hard to understand why he would be upset and angry about this press coverage, but, as he acknowledged, "There are freedom of press issues where the *Crimson* is involved."

According to Thernstrom and his defenders, the final result of black student complaints is that, in the words of *New York* magazine, his course "is no longer offered at Harvard." But that is only because Thernstrom himself decided not to offer it. No black student or organization ever demanded, much less suggested, that Thernstrom not teach the course. Nevertheless, Thernstrom describes himself as a victim of McCarthyism. In Thernstrom's case, three students complained that he had been "racially insensitive" in his lectures, and he responded by refusing to teach the course again. Under McCarthyism, professors didn't voluntarily decide not to teach after being criticized by students; they were prevented from teaching—fired—after being criticized by the government.

'There is no Thernstrom case,' concludes Martin Kilson.

In an interview Thernstrom agreed with several of these points. The students who complained about him "wanted to keep it a secret," he said. The administration gave them no satisfaction: "They were told, 'We don't take complaints against the faculty; have you talked to him? If not, do so.' That was the end." The students eventually did come to see him; one meeting "was very formal and cold," while the other was "quite a nice conversation." He agreed that no one had asked, much less demanded, that he not teach the course. He said it was correct that he did not assign slave narratives, because "my focus is more demographic and economic."

As for the administration's public statements, he said that Dean Spence was "very sympathetic; his end-of-the-year report was very strong"—even though D'Souza reports that Thernstrom regarded Spence's statement as "equivocal at best." As for Dean Jewett's statement on racial harassment, "Later I heard that his document had been in the works for a long time and was not issued as some kind of comment on this matter at all." Thernstrom said he still wasn't certain, and had never asked Jewett—even though he told D'Souza (as D'Souza then reported) that Jewett had "issued the 'open letter' against Thernstrom."

I asked Thernstrom whether he thought black students had criticized him because of his stand on affirmative action. "I am critical of affirmative action," he said, "but I don't think that was clear to them. I didn't lecture on affirmative action. They didn't know what I thought. The complaint was purely internal to the course."

Thernstrom said he remains incensed that Assistant Dean of the College for Race Relations and Minority Affairs Hilda Hernandez-Gravelle "helped these students" prepare their complaint. "I've made clear my dislike for her and her role, and have taken to monitoring her program, 'AWARE Week,' " he said. "I made an appearance at a couple of 'AWARE' sessions to make it clear that I'm keeping an eye on them."

Hernandez-Gravelle commented, "I think it's really sad that a person would use his energy in such a persecutory and uncollegial manner. This office is about creating dialogue, helping everyone understand different perspectives and ways of recognizing and appreciating the issues. It's appropriate for me to advise and assist students by presenting them with the alternatives they have in addressing their issues. Without commenting specifically on this case, I can say I may help a student write a letter if that is appropriate; I may suggest that it is not necessarily appropriate to accuse a person of being a racist; it might be better to inform him of your reaction to something he said."

What more could Thernstrom have wanted the Harvard administration to do, beyond issuing statements affirming his academic freedom? President Derek Bok, he replied, might have "declared that Harvard selects its faculty with enormous care and backs with great confidence the freedom of its professors to discuss subjects in which they are competent"; the administration "might have come out swinging" at the students who criticized him, Thernstrom said.

D'Souza represents the finest flower of a vast neocon talent search, one that began early in the Reagan era, when right-wing foundations like Olin set up

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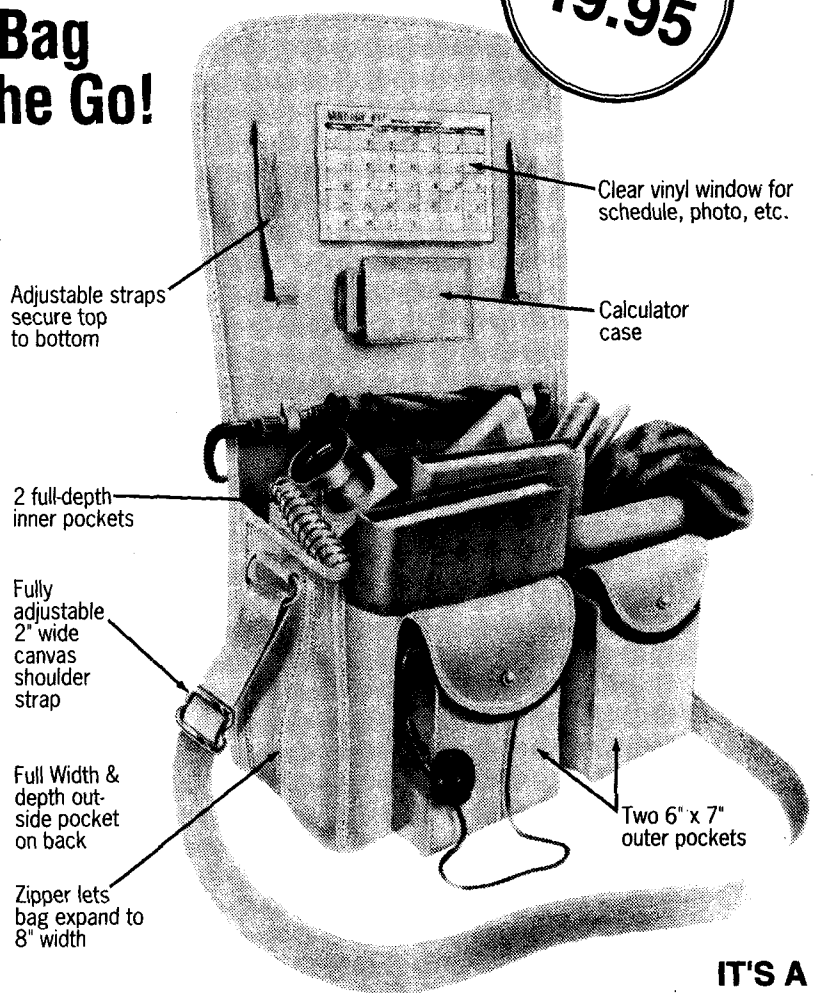
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and funded a network of conservative student newspapers, the flagship of which was the virulently racist *Dartmouth Review*, where D'Souza first demonstrated his talents as editor in chief [see Wiener, "Dollars for Neocon Scholars," January 1, 1990]. After graduation, the most promising of these young men were given positions in the Reagan White House (where D'Souza held the title "Domestic Policy Analyst") and later in conservative think tanks like the American Enterprise Institute (where D'Souza wrote his book under a grant from the Olin Foundation). After ten years of searching for and cultivating young neocon ideologues, the Olin Foundation and the American Enterprise Institute finally got everything they could have hoped for in Dinesh D'Souza and his book: a best seller attacking multiculturalism and the campus left and, best of all, a right-wing book written by a young person of color.

But if D'Souza's account of the Thernstrom case is typical of his work, *Illiberal Education* rests on a morass of inaccuracies, exaggerations and falsehoods [see David Corn, "Beltway Bandits," May 13 and "Letters," June 24 and July 8]. John Womack, who had chaired the Harvard history department before the complaint against Thernstrom surfaced, comments, "There had been a case years ago at Harvard involving Richard Herrnstein, who had his classroom disrupted and was harassed in the Yard [by students who objected to his writing about race and I.Q.]. But nobody did anything to Steve except say he had been insensitive. You'd think, 'Jesus, he ought to be able to get over that.' Instead, Steve just weirded out. He became very combative. He acted as if his very reputation as a liberal was being wiped out. It's easy to see why *The New Republic* picked it up, but why Gene Genovese or Vann Woodward would get on the bandwagon is more puzzling. To my amazement, this has now become an issue that stands in the annals of free speech."

"There is no Thernstrom case," concludes Martin Kilson, professor of government at Harvard. "There were 680 black students at Harvard at the time. A couple of them complained about his interpretations of black experience. That got translated into an attack on freedom of speech by black students. Nothing like that ever happened at Harvard. It's a marvelous example of the skill of the neocons at taking small events and translating them into weapons against the pluralistic thrust on American campuses." □

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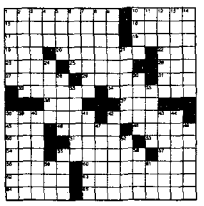

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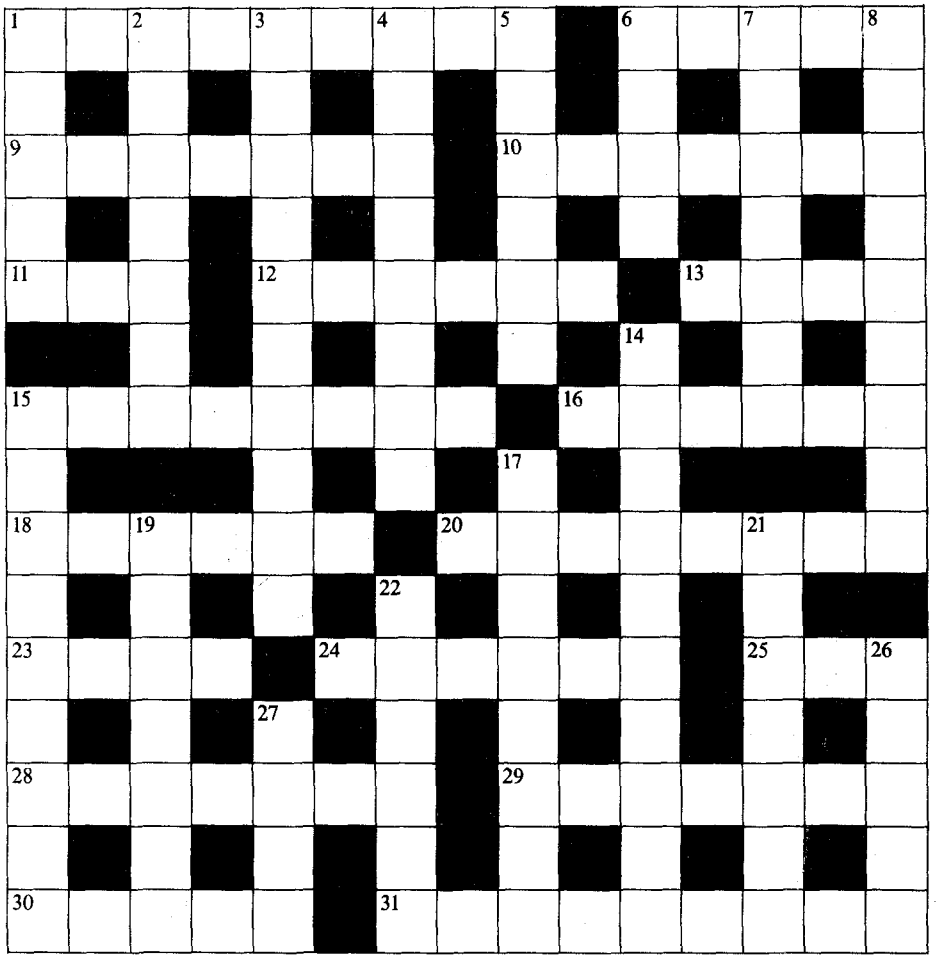

ACROSS

1 Rather basic apparel in Buffalo, in clothing for men, particularly. (7)
6 See 24
9 Though sea captains lose their heads, they still might appear in time for breakfast. (7)
10 Cries "O.K.!" but it's rough in high places! (7)
11 See 6 down
12 See 27 down
13 Singer who makes an enthusiastic comeback. (4)
15 Off this is a football tactic for the team close behind, according to a common friend. (8)
16 Not a first-class scoundrel, which might be hard to understand. (6)
18 Concerning that speck in your eye, it's far removed. (6)
20, and 1 and 15 down It might, if obviously the result of a miscalculation while hammering. (5,3,4,1,4,5)
23 See 6 down
24, 25 and 6 Ask them to check how people voted on a little party, as well as being noble. (6,1,7)
28 Even this might be a put-on that's service-oriented. (7)
29 Everything passes around it, but takes its own time. (7)
30 See 6 down
31 Applied after certain operations on the luncheon table? (9)

DOWN

1 See 20 across
2 The little scamp didn't end up with a good deed, certainly being hindered so! (7)
3 A bargain at the fish market, perhaps, but one wouldn't want to pay much! (9)
4 What blockers are supposed to do. (8)
5 Does writing come easy to to such as this old man, or is it a chore, possibly? (6)
6, and 11, 30 and 23 across One in the barnyard and those in the ring, perhaps, with a conservative tale? Don't you believe it! (4.3.4.5)
7 Producing a sort of gun in it was what our predecessors were doing to such as New York, Massachusetts, etc. (7)
8 If you're willing, this is one of the last things you would make! (9)
14 What the British call certain lines of reptiles. (10)
15 See 20 across
17 What certain fence-sitters do with missiles coming up, badly led. (8)
19 Military damage, with a broken tail? (7)
21 Nothing to hand out sparingly, though it might involve a lot of talking. (7)
22 Sounded hesitating, and worked around the edge of something. (6)
26 Sees a way of out it, and relaxes. (5)
27 and 12 across Such a plot examines carefully what Flint was engaged in. (10)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

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YOU CAN FOOL SOME OF THE PEOPLE SOME OF THE TIME, BUT....

THE AMERICAN ISRAEL POLITICAL CONTROL ASSOCIATION

AIPCA *MEMORANDUM*

WE KNOW WHERE YOU ARE. YOU DON'T NEED TO KNOW WHERE WE ARE

August 12, 1991

Ten Billion Dollar U.S. Loan Guarantees for Israel: Your Marching Orders

For years, we've outdone ourselves tossing out hoops for Congress to jump through. We're proud to say that we've surpassed even our own expectations with the $10 billion loan guarantee -- the ultimate hoop -- and the most exorbitantly risky and outrageous proposition yet. Finally, our dream can become a reality. Here's how! First, we get some of our friends to believe, or at least pretend, that these are *really* loans which Israel will *really* repay. Then, we convince them that this is purely "humanitarian aid" with no relation whatsoever to the 40,000 new settlement units Israel announced last month. Finally, we hoodwink our friends into believing that Israel will still come to the peace talks in October after Congress gives it the $10 billion in September. This might seem a bit much to expect -- but then what are "friends" for?

Here are some of our winning arguments. You should study them.

Trust us, *the money* is for the immigrants:

- Israel had originally budgeted $10 billion of its own funds over the next five years for such essential activities as building new settlements, maintaining thousands of defense forces in the West Bank and Gaza, and buying bulk supplies of rubber bullets. When Israel found out the Soviet immigrants were coming, it had to revise its spending plans and reallocate most of those funds to finance the massive resettlement. Now, with $10 billion from the U.S. dedicated to the absorption, Israel has no need to disrupt its original plan.
- The successful absorption of Soviet immigrants over the next five years is Israel's second highest priority. Israel's first priority is figuring out how to continue getting handouts without having to give up a single inch of the "administered" territories.

Those "deep pockets" in the United States:

- "Guaranteeing loans" for Israel, up to $2 billion a year for the next five years (we always say it this way so some people don't realize it's $10 BILLION), is the best way we think the United States can justify sending Israel lots of money and not have too much to say about what Israel does with it. Guarantees are not grants -- at this point, we can say truthfully that not one penny of U.S. government funds will be transferred to Israel through these guarantees. Later, however, when it's clear that Israel hasn't a snowball's chance in hell of paying them back, and that some U.S. banks are in danger of going belly-up, we plan to lobby Congress either to have these "loan guarantees" converted to grants, or to just bail out the banks (something Congress should be quite good at by then).

Many benefits for America:

- The U.S. will not need to figure out which critical domestic program -- housing, job training, education -- actually deserves all or part of the $10 billion. One simple loan guarantee to Israel *eliminates* those tough decisions.
- Ted Koppel will have something else to talk about.
- Our staff are so busy lobbying Congress and producing memoranda such as this that they don't have the time to keep track of what members of Congress and the Senate we plan to target for removal in the next election.

Israel's ability to repay:

- Israel has never defaulted on a loan, and maintains a highly favorable debt portfolio by international standards. This has been a relatively easy feat, *in that Israel only pays the interest on its loans*, and as mentioned before, Congress manages to convert most of them to grants before any principal is actually due. In fact, AIPCA has been so successful in supporting Israel's financial interests that we are now offering a $395 course at the Capital Hilton one weekend a month to borrower nations that would like to learn our highly-proven techniques.

An unusual "spoof" memorandum parodying the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) -- "The Jewish Lobby" -- and now circulating on Capitol Hill.

Think about it.

For additional information, and to find out how to get involved, send the coupon below or call, 24-hours daily, to (202) 362-JCOME. ***Isn't it time for mutual Israel-Palestinian Recognition? And isn't it time you got involved?***

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Your support and contributions *are vitally needed if JCOME is to be more effective in bringing these issues to the attention of the public, the press, and the Congress. With your ongoing support* ***we can make a difference!***

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